

Five Studies on Byzantium by Ihor Ševčenko

Ihor Ševčenko (1922-2009) made important contributions to Byzantine, Slavic, and Ukrainian studies during his long and fruitful scholarly career. A Wikipedia entry ([Ihor Ševčenko](#)) describes his life and works. The five studies in this file were published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* and *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* between the years 1961 and 1992.

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THE DECLINE
OF BYZANTIUM SEEN THROUGH
THE EYES OF ITS INTELLECTUALS

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

The text is that of a public lecture delivered at Dumbarton Oaks on March 25, 1960. The notes provide select source references. With one or two exceptions, secondary literature has been omitted.

TOWARDS the very end of the fourteenth century, the Patriarch of Constantinople had to remind the recalcitrant Prince of Muscovy of a few basic facts concerning international order. The Prince should remember—so the Patriarch explained—that he was only a local ruler while the Patriarch's secular lord was the Emperor of the Romans, that is, of all Christians. The fact that the Emperor's dominions were hard-pressed by the pagans was beside the point. The Emperor enjoyed special prerogatives in the world and in the Church universal. It therefore ill-behooved the Prince to have discontinued mentioning the name of the Emperor Manuel II during the Liturgy.¹

One of Manuel II's sons, Constantine XII, was the last ruler of Byzantium. When he was still only the Despot of the Peloponnesus, his panegyrists compared him to that other Constantine who had founded the capital of the Empire. From this identity of names, the panegyrists drew most favorable inferences as to the future prospects of Constantinople—in whose defense Constantine XII was to fall in 1453.²

In 1444 these future prospects were spelled out in some detail by Constantine's friend Bessarion. Once the Despot had carried out the reforms advocated by Bessarion for the Peloponnesus—that ancient Sparta—he would be able to reconquer the European part of the Empire; next, he would cross over to Asia at the head of his regenerated "Spartans"; thus this new Agesilaus would restore the whole Empire to its ancient greatness.³ After 1453, when Constantine was no longer able to listen, one of his former panegyrists favorably compared Byzantine scholars with their Latin counterparts. While many Byzantines, he said, professed Latin in the West, no Latin could dream of teaching Greek in the East.⁴

Faced with these utterances, the uninitiated feels bewildered. Did not the Muscovite Prince reflect, while reading the patriarchal lecture, that in a sense both he and the Emperor of the Romans were equals, since both were vassals of the infidels: he of the Tartar Khan, the Byzantine, of the Turkish sultan? Bessarion's optimism may have been strengthened by the crusading preparations of the 1440's, but how could he seriously hope for a reconquest of huge terri-

¹ Letter of Patriarch Antony IV to Grand Prince Vasilij I. Greek text in F. Miklosich-J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata* . . . , II (1862), pp. 188–192; *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, VI, 1 (2nd ed., 1908), Appendix, cols. 265–276. Partial English translations: A. A. Vasiliev, *Speculum*, VII (1932), pp. 358–359; E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (1957), pp. 194–196.

² Johannes Dokeianos, *Laudation of Constantine Palaeologus*, ed. Sp. Lampros, *Παλαιολογία και Πελοποννησιακά*, I (1912–1923), p. 225, lines 4–7. (In subsequent notes this work will be quoted as Lampros, ΠΠ.)

³ Bessarion, *Letter to Constantine Palaeologus*, ed. Lampros, ΠΠ, IV (1930), p. 36, lines 25–30; in the same letter (p. 44, lines 29–30) Bessarion expresses the wish that the Greek nation might rule over the whole of mankind. On the misplaced optimism of the "Pythian" oracle, composed between 1423 and 1436(?), predicting the four rebuildings of the Isthmus of Corinth, cf. E. W. Bodnar, "The Isthmian Fortification in Oracular Prophecy," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 64 (1960), pp. 165–171, esp. pp. 167 and 170.

⁴ Michael Apostolis, *Λόγος περί Ἑλλάδος καὶ Εὐρώπης*, ed. B. Laourdas in *Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 19 (1949), p. 243. English translation of the passage: D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, I, 2 (1958), p. 161.

tories lost since the end of the eleventh century? And as for the Greek teachers vaunted by Michael Apostolis—for he was the optimistic panegyrist of Constantine—how did he ever account for the fact that he himself coveted, but never obtained, a professorial chair in Italy?⁵

Initiated Byzantinists like ourselves can easily answer these questions. We say that the patriarchal admonition to the Muscovite Prince is an important text illustrating the Byzantine concept of the hierarchy of states, a sublime pyramid encompassing all the peoples of the civilized world. Bessarion's dreams of reconquest are an expression of the *renovatio* idea which was not abandoned, if at all, until the very last years of the Byzantine Empire. To explain the official flattery and the play on the name of Constantine XII, we refer to late antique textbooks of rhetoric which advised fulsomeness and punning on the names of persons eulogized. Finally, Apostolis is no problem at all since, so some of us assert, the feeling of cultural decline was not present in late Byzantium, not even at its last hour.

In our justified admiration for the durability of the Byzantine imperial idea we Byzantinists have talked ourselves into a delicate position. To judge—superficially, to be sure—by some of our writings, Byzantine intellectuals were so many ostriches hiding their heads in the sands of past imperial glories. In this paper I propose to ask the common-sense question: did the writings of intellectuals who lived through the last two centuries of Byzantium express awareness of, first, the Empire's political and, second, their own cultural decline? I shall try to answer this question with a "yes," lest I be compelled to admit that in my work I am principally concerned with the inhabitants of an antiquarian fool's paradise. Fortunately, texts can be adduced which prove that on occasion educated Byzantines kept their heads up and their eyes open.

The two last centuries of Byzantium were not the first to see the Empire faced with mortal dangers and threats of collapse. Byzantines were familiar enough with these dangers from the early times of the Empire. Towards the middle of the fifth century, imperial diplomats cooling their heels at Attila's headquarters, discussed among themselves the Hun's plans of universal conquest and dispassionately predicted that he would enslave the whole Roman world.⁶ Tenth-century historians of imperial and of less elevated station reflected that the Empire had once declined to the verge of total extinction, and saw in a comet the portent of the almost utter destruction of the Roman rule.⁷ In the

⁵ Cf. H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis* . . . (= *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 54 [1889]), pp. 19, 54, 102, 130, 144. Cf. pp. 148–153, an advertising tract which today would be entitled "My method of teaching Greek." Vainly anticipating a trip to Italy, Apostolis offers his professorial services (p. 152, lines 23–24).

⁶ Priscus, ed. C. De Boor, *Excerpta de legationibus*, I, 1 (1903), pp. 140, line 21–142, line 22. German translation by E. Doblhofer, *Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren* (= *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, IV [1955]), pp. 49–51.

⁷ Verge of extinction: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, § 29, 58ff. = p. 124; § 29, 85–86 = p. 126, ed. Moravcsik (a barb against Michael II, the founder of a dynasty which was supplanted by Constantine's grandfather Basil I and therefore maligned by Constantine. But the Empire did fare badly in the beginning of the ninth century). — Comet: Leo Diaconus, *Hist.*, X, 6 = p. 169, lines 11–12, Bonn.

eleventh century, Psellus congratulated Isaac I Comnenus for raising up the prostrate Empire and Andronicus Ducas, a general who had yet to gain his victory, for breathing life back into the dead body of the Roman state.⁸ In the latter case Psellus alluded to the disastrous battle of Manzikert. After 1204 Nicetas Choniates referred to the extinguished self-confidence of the Byzantines and praised God who had put them to death but then had resuscitated them.⁹ The sub-literary public read prophecies concerning the fall of Constantinople which was to be followed by an eschatological happy ending.¹⁰ This public scrutinized the details and inscriptions on the city's statuary for indications of calamities to come and examined the *Brontologia*, or Thunderbooks, to find out whether thunder would portend the fall of a city, or perhaps of *the City*.¹¹

The feeling that the present fell short of the good old times is attested well before the thirteenth century. The Greek turncoat whom the diplomat Priscus met at Attila's headquarters explained that he had left the eastern Roman Empire because its leaders were not up to the level of their ancestors.¹² Around 1100, Theophylactus, Archbishop of Ochrid, disputed his contemporaries who thought that the age in which they lived did not measure up to olden times and who therefore considered the virtuous life to be beyond the capabilities of their own generation.¹³ Even in the self-confident twelfth century, orators pretended to be inferior to their colleagues of the past. One of them reproached nature for bringing Manuel I into the world at the wrong time, for, so he argued, only Gorgias and Isocrates would have been up to the task of singing the Emperor's praises.¹⁴

In his letters, however, Psellus looked forward to victories. Even Choniates' speeches following the year 1204 were relatively optimistic. They clamored for the liberation of the City and expressed confidence in Theodore Lascaris, the Emperor who had slain a Turkish sultan in hand to hand combat.¹⁵

The notions of impending doom and of inferiority to the past became much more pronounced in the final stage of the Empire's history. This final stage began in about 1300.

⁸ Letter to Isaac Comnenus, ed. K. Sathas, Μεσαιωνική βιβλιοθήκη, V (1876), p. 301. (Subsequently this collection will be quoted as Sathas, *MB*.); Letter to Andronicus Ducas, ed. Sathas, *MB*, V, p. 394.

⁹ Nicetas Choniates, Λόγος ἐκδοθείς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναγνώσθῃν εἰς τὸν Λάσκαριν κύρ Θεόδωρον, ed. Sathas, *MB*, I (1872), pp. 110, 118.

¹⁰ Basic texts: Ps.-Methodius of Patara and Ps.-Daniel. Ed. V. Istrin, "Otkrovenie Mefodija Patarskago i apokrifčeskija videnija Daniila v vizantijskoj i slavjano-russkoj literaturax," *Čtenija v imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom Universitete*, CLXXXII, 3 (1897), pp. 1-250; 251-330; CLXXXIII, 3 (1897), pp. 1-132; CLXXXIV, 2 (1898), pp. 133-210; cf. E. Sackur, *Sybillinische Texte und Forschungen* (1898), chap. 1: *Pseudomethodius* (Latin version).

¹¹ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête* . . . , §§ 91-92 = pp. 88-89, ed. P. Lauer. English translation by E. H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople* . . . (= Records of Civilization, XXIII [1936]), pp. 110-111; cf. note 117. *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Preger, II (1907), p. 176, line 10-177, line 2. *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, X (1924), p. 141, line 7, ed. Delatte; cf. *ibidem*, p. 141, line 20.

¹² Priscus, ed. C. de Boor, *Excerpta de legationibus*, I, 1 (1903), p. 138, lines 13-15. English translation in J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I (1923), p. 285.

¹³ Theophylactus of Ochrid, Βίος καὶ πολιτεία . . . Κλήμεντος ἐπισκόπου Βουλγάρων, § 2, ed. A. Milev, *Teofilakt, Kliment Oxridski* (1955), pp. 34-35.

¹⁴ Michael of Thessalonica, ed. W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum*, fasc. 1-2 (1917), p. 133, lines 12-19.

¹⁵ Cf. Sathas, *MB*, I, pp. 106, 107, 128, 129, 136.

Under the year 1337 the humanist-historian, Nicephorus Gregoras, spoke of a simultaneous incursion by Tartars from beyond the Danube and by Turks from Asia Minor, and described the clash between these predatory hordes: "One enemy killed the other," he said, "as if they were so many dogs which time after time jumped at a corpse."¹⁶ According to Gregoras the corpse for which these dogs were fighting was the dead body of the Empire. Before and after Gregoras other intellectuals sensed that they had entered the twilight of their history. Such an influential statesman of the early fourteenth century as Theodore Metochites realized that he had been entrusted with the conduct of affairs at a time of catastrophe and knew that he administered the wreckage of the Roman Empire.¹⁷ Cantacuzenus had great nostalgia for the Romans of old and admitted that the "ancestral glory" had been shattered by his time.¹⁸ In the thirteen-forties a half-educated Byzantine named Alexius Makrembolites produced one of the most interesting documents of social protest in late Byzantium. He called it "A Dialogue Between the Rich and the Poor." At one point in the Dialogue the Poor recalled the rich men of yore who built hostels and alms-houses and saw to the instruction of poor maidens. Why couldn't the rich of their day do the same? This was the reply of the Rich:

"But you are leaving out of consideration... the flourishing state of affairs which prevailed at that time. Our Empire and its religion were at their height and we had in our possession the farthest reaches of the earth. Now no... province is left to us. You also forget that now it is we who are enslaved by all those peoples who were then under our sway... Furthermore, at that time there was no one who was poor or a prisoner of war, whereas now almost all are helots and 'thrice imprisoned.'"¹⁹

If we are to believe the pro-Latin thinker and statesman Demetrius Cydones, even in the second half of the fourteenth century there were people who maintained that Constantinople, being the New Rome, was at the height of its development.²⁰ Cydones, however, puts this argument into the mouths of his adversaries. And before we begin to doubt the sanity of those adversaries, we must realize that Cydones had merely set up straw men and prepared the stage for his own merciless description of reality as it was in the early thirteenth-sixties. The city of Constantinople was in a state of decline. It was the Turk who ruled and collected revenue. The Byzantines were few, their lower classes were exploited, Islam was making inroads into the Christian ranks. What is so good

¹⁶ Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, I, 535, lines 11-18, Bonn.

¹⁷ Theodore Metochites, *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, § 68, eds. C. G. Müller-Th. Kiessling (1821), p. 193. (In subsequent notes this work will be referred to as Metochites, *Miscellanea*.)

¹⁸ Cantac., *Hist.*, I, pp. 185, lines 9 and 17-19; 344, line 21-345, line 1; II, pp. 54, line 14; 244, lines 18-19; 251, lines 12-14; I, p. 345, lines 18-19.

¹⁹ Cf. my "Alexios Makrembolites and his 'Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor,'" *Zbornik radova Srpske akademije nauka*, LXV-Vizantološki institut, Knj. 6 (1960), p. 213, lines 12-19. (In subsequent notes this article will be quoted as *Makrembolites*.)

²⁰ Demetrius Cydones, *Apologia*, ed. G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone*... (= *Studie Testi*, 56 [1931]), p. 370, lines 30-33. German translation by H. G. Beck, *Ostkirchliche Studien*, I (1952), p. 217. (In subsequent notes the first of these works will be referred to as Mercati, *Notizie*, and the second, as Beck.)

about our state, Cydones asked, if in reality our so-called subjects work for the Turk and our emperors serve him and live by his command?²¹

It would be pointless to multiply examples of such texts. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the main changes that occur in them concern reports of what was still left to the Empire, not comparisons with the past or evaluations of the present. In the spring of 1352 Philotheus, the future patriarch of Constantinople, enumerated the territories lost by Byzantium up to that time and referred to ten or twenty cities which still were in Byzantine hands but which were at their last gasp.²² About three-quarters of a century later the great Pletho reminded Theodore II, Despot of the Peloponnesus, of the past greatness of Byzantium and made a similar inventory. By then he could come up with only two cities in Thrace, parts of the Peloponnesus, and a small island or two.²³

Byzantine intellectuals looking at their country and at themselves now spoke of "remains," "small remnants," "dregs," "refuse," of the great Roman Empire, of the Romans or of the Hellenes—all of which terms are direct quotations.²⁴ Their present state was the more sorry since the point of reference was not only Byzantium at the time of its greatness but also Roman and Greek antiquity.

The first part of our main question has been answered: Byzantine intellectuals did express their awareness of the Empire's political decay. Admittedly, this showed no great insight, for their world was indeed collapsing. For purposes of illustration, I shall refer to the years around the middle of the fourteenth century. To realize the degree of Byzantium's difficulties at that time, one has only to open the History of Nicephorus Gregoras and the Memoirs of the former

²¹ Cf. Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 374, lines 41–52, 57–58; 374, line 62–375, line 2; Beck, pp. 220–1.

²² Philotheus Kokkinos, *Letter to the Inhabitants of Heracleia*, eds. C. Triantafyllis-A. Grapputo, *Anecdota graeca e codicibus mss. Bibliothecae S. Marci* (1874), p. 43. Cf. Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, II, pp. 816, line 20–817, line 7, Bonn, where these words are put in the mouth of Cantacuzenus: the Empire's territory is practically limited to Thrace; its few cities have no hinterland and are seething with social unrest. Cf. p. 883, lines 16–17, Bonn: Byzantine territory not bigger than Thrace in 1351.

²³ Συμβουλευτικός πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Θεόδωρον . . . , ed. Lampros, ΠΠ, 4 (1930), p. 129, lines 12–17. Writing soon after 1405, Johannes Chortasmenos, a scholar and a bibliophile, remarked that prior to the battle of Ankara (1402) Byzantine affairs were at such an ebb, that almost the only place from which the Empire could collect revenue at that time was Constantinople itself. Cf. the passage in *Vind. Suppl. Gr.* 75, fol. 264^r, ed. H. Hunger, *Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slaventums und Ost-europas*, 3 (1959), p. 157, note 22. Some years later (about 1422?) Chortasmenos read the historians Nicetas Choniates and Iohannes Cinnamus in *Vat. Gr.* 163 and compared his own times with those recorded in the texts he was reading. Next to a passage of Choniates (= 510, Bonn), describing the use of the Greek fire, Chortasmenos wrote in his own hand (fol. 175^r): ποῦ νῦν τὸ ὕγρὸν τοῦτο πῦρ; καὶ θαῦμα μέγα, πῶς ἡ τούτου κατασκευὴ τὴν τῶν Βενετῶν μάλιστα γνώσιν διέφυγε. Next to another passage (= 529, Bonn) referring to a window in the Blachernae Palace, he remarked (fol. 177^r): οἷα ἦσαν ποτὲ τὰ παλάτια τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, καὶ οἷα νῦν γεγόνασιν· φεῦ τῆς συμφορᾶς. Cf. the remark on fol. 233^r, starting with the words περὶ τοῦ κάστρου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, οἷον ἦν τότε καὶ οἷον ἐστὶ νῦν. This last remark is published; ed., e.g., Sp. Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημίων*, 5 (1908), pp. 260–261.

²⁴ The words used are λείψανα, ἐλλείμματα, ὑποστάθμη, σκύβαλα. Cf. Metochites, *Miscellanea*, § 1, p. 14; § 38, p. 240; Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, II, p. 817, line 1, Bonn; Michael Apostolis, ed. H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis* . . . , pp. 114; 151, line 29; ed. B. Laourdas in 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 19 (1949), p. 243, line 25; anonymous *Dirge on the Despot Theodore II*, ed. Lampros, ΠΠ, IV (1930), p. 177, line 1; Georgius (Gennadius) Scholarius *Oeuvres complètes* . . . , eds. L. Petit, M. Jugie, X. A. Siderides, III (1930), p. 127, lines 13–14. (In subsequent notes this edition will be referred to as Scholarius, *Oeuvres*.)

Emperor Cantacuzenus. Portions of these works read like the last books of Sholokhov's "Quiet Flows the Don," with their accounts of daring raids and fatal ambushes executed by small partisan groups. The raids and ambushes described by Cantacuzenus were operations on a miniature scale. The Emperor himself was sometimes menaced with captivity, for his squadron on occasion numbered only fifty or sixty warriors.²⁵ In 1337, the Turks unexpectedly overran the region of Constantinople, and for its defense in this emergency the Empire was able to mobilize no more than sixty or seventy knights—with retinues, we hope, though we are not so told—and three unarmed ships.²⁶ In 1343, because of Turkish incursions at harvest time and the interruption of the food supply from the Black Sea coast, famine spread in Constantinople and Thracian cities,²⁷ and in 1346 the fields were not tilled on account of raids by various enemies. Cities were deserted, the economic life came to a standstill, the poor were unemployed, and sources of revenue thus dried up.²⁸ About 1344, Momčilo, a Bulgarian adventurer, carved out for himself a semi-independent domain from the disintegrating territory of the Empire. His army was made up of bloodthirsty Serbian, Bulgarian, and half-Greek rabble. This force of 2000 men made Momčilo a match for either side in the civil war which at that time was being waged in the Empire.²⁹

Thus the intellectuals could not but be aware of political decay. But, it is said, they expressed no awareness of cultural decadence, for the simple reason that such decadence did not objectively exist in the period of the Palaeologi. There is some truth in this statement. The scholarly discussions at the court of Andronicus II were much more refined than they had been at the court of Nicaea,³⁰ and the names of Cydones, Pletho, and Bessarion are among the most prominent in the history of Byzantine culture. We should judge an army, however, not only by its generals but also by the skills of its noncommissioned officers. In this context the person of Demetrius Raoul Kabakes affords us food for thought. In the last decades of the Empire's existence this man was an important landlord in the Peloponnesus and later became a high official at the court of Constantinople. He belonged to the circle of Pletho, collected esoteric texts in which this group was interested, had Ciriaco of Ancona draw an elephant in his scrapbook, and boasted of being a descendant of the wise

²⁵ Cantac., *Hist.*, II, pp. 415, line 18–418, line 4; 429, line 11–431, line 24, Bonn.

²⁶ Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, I, p. 540, lines 1–5, Bonn.

²⁷ Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, II, p. 683, lines 5–13, Bonn.

²⁸ Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, II, pp. 751, line 22–752, line 6, Bonn.

²⁹ Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, II, p. 704, lines 12–22, Bonn. Other texts in St. P. Kyriakides, *Βυζαντινὰι μελέται*, VII. 'Ο Μομτζίλος καὶ τὸ κράτος του, *Μακεδονικά*, 2 (1950), pp. 332–345.

³⁰ In 1241, Georgius Acropolites, then a young man of 21, discussed the causes of solar eclipses in front of the imperial couple, John Vatatzes and Empress Irene. (*Hist.*, § 39 = pp. 62, line 17–64, line 5 ed. Heisenberg). He admits that he did not know exactly what these causes were, but states that he managed to repeat what he had learned about them from Nicephorus Blemmydes. Even Acropolites' rudimentary explanation must have been found too daring, for it was challenged by the court physician, "an ignoramus in philosophy." In the heat of the argument, Acropolites was even called *μωρός* by the Empress, who, however, later regretted the epithet. Compare this with the level of Gregoras' discussion on the reform of the Calendar, which took place at the court of Andronicus II about 1325. Cf. Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, I, pp. 364, line 3–373, line 13, Bonn; *idem*, *Letter to Cabasilas*, ed. St. Bezdeki, *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, 2 (1924), pp. 330–336.

Theodore Metochites.³¹ But his spelling was atrocious and his style lowly. Having heard a laudatory appreciation of Metochites which went back to Pletho, he recorded it in a form which may be freely translated to read: "As far as commentators of Ptolemy, Pletho sez let them say what they want, nobody's got within a mile of Metochites the great logothete."³²

Curiously enough, many Byzantine intellectuals of the Palaeologian period did not share the optimism of modern Byzantinists. Express criticisms of Byzantine culture occurred half a century after the first laments over political decline. But signs of a cultural malaise appeared a generation earlier.

Theodore Metochites deplored the fact that neither he nor his contemporaries were able to exercise their literary talents, for all subjects, secular or sacred, had already been treated by others. His generation of late-comers was left with nothing original to say.³³ This insight into the disadvantages of a culture burdened with too brilliant a tradition is remarkable, considering that this culture was the writer's own. But there was nothing optimistic in declaring that the creative possibilities of Byzantine literature had been spent.

Fear of sterility only implied awareness of decline. Cydones was the first author of the fourteenth century who expressly pointed to the decadence of literary and theological studies in the Byzantium of his day and who said that only the indigent and unlettered still looked to the Empire for guidance.³⁴ The most eloquent text, however, comes from fifteenth-century Constantinople. Before the Union of Florence the future Patriarch Gennadius Scholarius—for polemical purposes to be sure—assessed the level of the capital's cultural élite and was appalled. He found that only a few people (he says three or four) were devoting themselves to the pursuit of learning and that even these were concerned with appearances rather than substance. The study of elementary grammar transformed them into grammarians; avoidance of solecisms turned them into rhetoricians; their mumblings about genera and species earned them the title of philosophers; their rattling off of patristic texts caused the crowd to worship them as divinely inspired theologians. This was bad enough. Scholarius only wished that these ignoramuses would leave successors who would be no worse than themselves, but feared, instead, that they might die without leaving any successors at all. Soon the Byzantines, while living in what had formerly

³¹ Kabakes at the court of Constantinople: Letter of *hieromonachos* Gabriel to *archon* Kabakes, in *Mutinensis* 144 (α. Τ. 8. 12), fol. 181^v: the addressee has moved to Constantinople, where he is *ὑπηρέτων βασιλεῖ καὶ οἰκίας ἐπιμελούμενος*. Kabakes member of the senatorial class: cf. *Vat. Gr.* 1293, fol. 419^r, quoted in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 4 (1907), p. 331. Elephant: in *Mutinensis* 144, fol. 179^v, where Kabakes wrote above the picture and its caption: τοῦ Ἀγκονιτάνου Κυριακοῦ οἰκηόχειρα ἀμφώτεραι. Descent from the Metochites family: Kabakes' letter to his son Manolis, ed., e.g., Sathas, *MB*, I, pp. ρκζ' – ρλα'. Examples of Kabakes' spelling in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 4 (1907), pp. 331–342; H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, 5 (1929–1930), pp. 730–736; F. Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra* (1956), pp. 385–386.

³² Autograph note in *Mutinensis* 144 (α. Τ. 8. 12), fol. 147^v: οὗτος ἔφη πρίγκηψ ὁ Χιλᾶς, ἀνὴρ ἐπιστήμων καὶ τήμιος ἄρχον· ὅτι Πλήθων ὁ σοφὸς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἐξιγαιτῶν τῆς Μεγάλης Συντάξεως· ὁ, τι θέλουν ὡς λέγουν, οὐδὲς ἔφθασεν τὸν μέγαν λογοθέτην τὸν Μετοχίτην. Cf. Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 4 (1907), p. 339.

³³ Metochites, *Miscellanea*, § 1, pp. 13–18; cf. *idem*, Ἠθικός ἢ περὶ παιδείας, *Vind. Phil. Gr.* 95, fol. 201^v: ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ πάντων ἀκριβέστατα προεῖπον [*sc.* the ancients] καὶ προῦθεντο νόμους καὶ κλήρους ἀυτάρκεις, ἀπολαύειν ἀπόνως τοῖς ἐξῆς ἡμῖν· καὶ οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἀνεπίγνωστον, οὐτ' ἄρρητον παρέρται.

³⁴ Demetrius Cydones, *Apologia*, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 370, lines 52–54 and 58; Beck, p. 220.

been the center of literary studies, would in no way differ from the barbarians. Soon they would be deprived not only of wisdom and knowledge but even of the mastery of their own tongue.³⁵

The cultural decline of one's own society may be measured by the achievements of another, whose civilization had been considered inferior in former days. When some Byzantines applied the Latin yardstick to themselves, they found their own culture wanting. For men like Cydones, a closer look at the Latin culture brought exhilarating discoveries. The recognition that the Latins had something to offer involved the destruction of most of the shibboleths to which Byzantines had been attached for centuries: for one thing, the world was divided into Byzantines and barbarians, the latter including the Latins;³⁶ for another, as a city, the New Rome was so far superior to the Old that to compare the two would be ridiculous.³⁷ God had chosen the Ancient Greeks to cultivate science; the Gospels and the Epistles were written in Greek for the Greeks;³⁸ all Latin learning was derived from the Greeks; the Latin language was poor and "narrow."³⁹ Even in the process of destroying these shibboleths Cydones proclaimed some aspects of contemporary Latin civilization as superior. You say, he asked the Byzantine traditionalists, that the Latins received culture from us? True, but in so doing, they mastered Aristotle and Plato—now their Muse is more impressive than that of these two philosophers—while you neglected them to the point where you ignorantly assert that the method of dialectical proof is a Latin invention. You are proud of your long-winded Attic style? But the Latins offer the truth in concise language and are better equipped for logical disputation. You find the walls of Constantinople superior to those of Rome? But have you considered the facts? Those who have seen and surveyed the fortifications of both cities report that Rome's walls are longer.⁴⁰

In 1371, Cydones asked the Emperor John V for permission to leave for Italy. In the past, he had profited from Latin writings. Now he wanted to profit

³⁵ Scholarius, *Oeuvres*, IV, pp. 406, lines 22–32; 407, lines 2–12. Some forty years earlier, Joseph Bryennius had already implied that the orthodox party lacked educated leaders. Cf. *Letter to Nicolas Cabasilas*, ed. E. Boulgaris, Ἰωσήφ . . . Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα . . . , III (1784), p. 140: if Cabasilas acts, the orthodox will not have to hide their faces, or mourn the fact that no wise and worldly leader is left to them and that their world is gone and done for (ῥῆχτο πάντα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπόλωλεν). Johannes Chortasmenos regrets that Science and Fortune had left Attica and moved to Italy: *Letter to Demetrius Pepagomenus*, summarized by H. Hunger, *Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slaven-tums und Osteuropas*, III (1959), p. 155.

³⁶ Criticism of this traditional viewpoint in Demetrius Cydones, *Apologia*, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 365, lines 77–81. Beck, p. 213.

³⁷ Theodore Metochites, Βυζάντιος ἡ περὶ τῆς βασιλίδος μεγαλοπόλεως, *Vind. Phil. Gr.* 95, fol. 301^r: 'Ρώμη δ' ἐκείνη προτέρα καὶ μεγαλύνυμος, ἡττηται μὲν καὶ αὕτη τοῦ τῆσδε μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως [sc. Constantinople], ὡς καὶ πᾶσαι ἡττηται δὲ τῆς κατὰ θέσιν εὐκαιρίας τοῦ τόπου Fol. 301^v: τίς δ' ὥστε καὶ παραβάλλειν ὅλως τάκεινς [sc. Rome] ἐνθάδε μαίνοιτ' ἂν οὕτω καὶ ὥστε τοσαύτης ἀνοίας γέλωτ' ὀφλειν.

³⁸ Photius, *Letter to Zachary*, *Catholicos of Armenia*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik*, 31 (1892), p. 185, lines 11–24 (Russian translation by N. Marr, *ibidem*, pp. 233–234); cf. pp. 183, line 10–186, line 26 (Russian translation, pp. 231–235) on God's preference for the Greeks and on the supremacy of Greek culture, both pagan and Christian.

³⁹ Georgius Acropolites, *Second Speech on the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father*, II, p. 64, lines 14–15, ed. Heisenberg. Texts on τὸ στενὸν of the Latin language are quoted by A. Michel, "Sprache und Schisma," *Festschrift Kardinal Faulhaber* . . . (1949), pp. 46–47.

⁴⁰ Demetrius Cydones, *Apologia*, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 366, lines 90–99; 372, lines 76–80; 389, lines 62–65; 393, lines 62–66; 402, lines 74–78; Beck, pp. 214; 219; 271; 274; 282. *Letter* 103, ed. R. J. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydonès, Correspondance* (= Studi e Testi, 186 [1956]), p. 141, lines 63–67.

from direct contacts with "people who are capable of improving those who associate with them."⁴¹

The second stage in the acquaintance of the Byzantines with Latin culture led to the open admission of Latin superiority. In his memoir on reforms addressed to the future Constantine XII, Bessarion spoke bluntly. The culture of the Byzantines, so high in the past, had sunk so low that they were considered ignorant by foreigners. The wisdom and technological know-how of the Byzantines had disappeared, but it survived to a great extent among the Latins. In order to raise the level of culture, education, and technology in the Peloponnese, Constantine should invite Latin specialists there and send a small group of Greek students to Italy. These half dozen students—he specifies four to eight—should not be too young, nor should they be too old, for otherwise it would be difficult for them to learn a foreign language. Their program of study should be technological: metallurgy, mechanics, armaments, shipbuilding; the manufacture of what we would today call consumer goods might be looked into also, but this was less important.⁴² All of Bessarion's proposals must have sounded strange to some members of the Byzantine upper classes. When *they* were young, they had had to memorize the elegant periods of Aelius Aristides and Libanius, not a manual on shipbuilding, in order to qualify for important positions. Therefore Bessarion had to temper his advice. He explained that no loss of face was involved in learning from the Latins. First of all, the Byzantines would only be receiving back what they had given them in the past. Secondly, it was silly to be ashamed of acquiring wisdom. If the Latins had been ashamed of receiving culture from the Byzantines long before, they would never have reached the cultural eminence which they were now enjoying.⁴³

Both Cydones and Bessarion were champions of the Union of Churches. But the anti-Unionists, too, were convinced that the situation of the past had been reversed and that the Byzantines of their day were no match for their Latin counterparts. Before the Council of Florence, Pletho had little hope for an Orthodox victory in the conciliar disputes. After the Council, he did say that he had no fear the Latins might vanquish the Byzantines in discussions on the Procession of the Holy Ghost,⁴⁴ but by insisting on this point, he betrayed his own doubts. Scholarius, also writing after the Council, was more outspoken. He advised against any further involvement with the Latins, more erudite than the Byzantines (τοὺς Λατίνους σοφωτέρους ὄντας ἡμῶν), since his contemporaries could not begin to measure up to the immediately preceding generation of intellectuals. Besides, it would be insane for his generation of nonentities (τοὺς μηδένας ἡμᾶς), weak in matters of culture, to question the decisions sanctified by the assent of the mighty minds of the past who lived when the Byzantine nation was great, powerful, and earnest in its search for the Good.⁴⁵

⁴¹ *Speech to John V Palaeologus*, ed. R. J. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, p. 22, lines 4–16, esp. 9–10.

⁴² Ed. Lampros, ΠΠ, IV (1930), pp. 42, lines 5–10 and 21–25; 43, lines 1–7, 12–17; 44, lines 5–24.

⁴³ Ed. Lampros, ΠΠ, IV (1930), p. 42, lines 29–34.

⁴⁴ Pletho, Πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λατινικοῦ δόγματος βιβλίον, Migne, PG, 160, col. 979B.

⁴⁵ Scholarius, *Oeuvres*, III, pp. 85, lines 1–10; 92, lines 13–29.

The second part of our main question has been answered. Rightly or wrongly—and I think rightly—Byzantine intellectuals did express their awareness of the Empire's cultural decay.

Confrontation with the West led some Byzantines to the recognition of Latin cultural superiority; confrontation with the East posed a different problem for them. There was no Turkish culture. According to Metochites, by 1294 the frontier of civilization in the East coincided with the line of settlements organized along the Sangarios River in Bithynia. The wilderness beyond, that is, the lands which were in the hands of various Turkish emirs, was inhabited by creatures about whom the only human thing were their malformed bodies. All laws of polity and all bonds of society were absent from that wilderness.⁴⁶ The motif of opposition between the Turks, who were mere beasts if not worse, and the Byzantines, who were human beings and descendants of Greeks and Romans, lived as long as the Empire itself: thus it was put forth in Constantine XII's last speech, pronounced some twelve hours before the fall of the City.⁴⁷ The religion of these beasts was sheer abomination. And yet they advanced from one conquest to another. How could that be?

To the Turks themselves, the answer appeared simple. Their successes were a miracle which confirmed the supernatural character of Mohammed's mission. It is known, so runs the Turkish reasoning, that God bestows favors and honors on those whom he loves, and inflicts punishment and humiliation on those from whom he averts his face. We see that we and other Moslems are thriving, while you Christians are experiencing defeat on all fronts. It clearly follows that Mohammed's faith is better than Christ's.⁴⁸ If you Christians are so right about

⁴⁶ Theodore Metochites, Βασιλικὸς δεῦτερος, *Vind. Phil. Gr.* 95, fol. 154^r: settlements on the Sangarios seem to the author πόλιν οὖσαν μίαν τε καὶ μεγίστην ... ἐν ἣ ζύμπαντα ὁμοῦ συνῆλθε καλῶν εἶδη καὶ νόμων ἰσότης ... καὶ πάσης εὐπορία τέχνης καὶ λόγων φορὰ ... καὶ ... χάριτος ἡ μεγίστη καὶ καλλίστη πόλις αὕτη πλεὺς ἑλληνικῆς. Τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα [*sc.* Turkish lands beyond] ... τάδε μὴν εἶναι ... θῖνες ἀνδρὶ καὶ θηριώδεϊς ... θηριώδεϊς ... ἀγοραὶ καὶ νομαὶ ... ὄχλος μόνον ἀναρχος, ἀτακτος, οὐδὲν ἴσον ... φύσεως ἀμαρτία ... [fol. 154^v] ὕλης ἀνίδεος [*leg.* ἀνείδεος] χύσις καὶ χρόνου καὶ γῆς ὕβρις. The barbarians inhabiting the land "beyond" δίκην οὐ νομίζουσι, πολιτεῖαν οὐκ ἴσασι, ... πᾶσαν βίου παρασκευὴν καὶ συνθήκην, ἀρχῆς ἀρμονίαν καὶ σύνταξιν ... μορφαῖς μόνον ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ ταύταις ἀλλόκοτοὶ ὥσπερ τὰ φαῦλα νομίσματα παραχαρattuosis τῆς κοινῆς πλάσεως. If only the Turks were civilized, and not split into many emirates! Then it would have been easy to deal with them. Fol. 155^r: ἀν δέ τις αἰεὶ τέμνη καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιχείρησιν ὀξιοί, πάρεστιν αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι κἀνταῦθα ἡ τῆς ὕλης πρὸς ἐπίδοσιν ἀκμή—καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν αὐθις αἰ τῆς ὕδρας ἀδαπάνητο κεφαλαί—καὶ πολυαρχία, κἀν μὲν γε πρὸς ἐστῶσαν ἦν ἡγεμονία ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ἡρμοσμένην ἐνὶ γε τῷ δήπου τρόπῳ, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν πράγμα τέλος εὐρέσθαι. Metochites puts his finger on one of the chief difficulties in Byzantino-Turkish relations.

⁴⁷ Ps.-Sphrantzes, *Hist.* (= *Maius*), p. 275, lines 3–9, Bonn. German translation by E. von Ivánka, *Die letzten Tage von Konstantinopel* (= *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, I [1954]), p. 71. Another edition by G. Th. Zoras, in *Εὐχαριστήριον, Τιμητικὸς τόμος* ... 'Α. Σ. 'Αλιβιζάτου (1958), pp. 109–110 (who conveniently publishes the three versions of the *Speech*). In spite of the compilatory character of the *Maius*, the *Speech* does reflect the situation of 1453 or thereabouts.

⁴⁸ Joseph Bryennius, Μετὰ ἀπίστου διάλεξις, *Valllicellianus Gr.* 27 (B. 128), fol. 149^v (the Infidel is speaking): ἀλλ' ἴσμεν ὅτι ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἀγαπᾷ, εὐεργετῇ τοῦτον, πληθύνει, τιμᾷ· ὃν δ' ἀποστρέφεται καὶ μισεῖ, λημιοί, ἐλαττοί, κατασχύνει· ὁρῶμεν οὖν τὸ τήμερον, ὅτι τὸ τῶν Ἰσλαμηλιτῶν γένος (καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τῷ Μωάμεθ νόμῳ στοιχεῖ) εὐπραγεῖ, ἐνημεροί, εὐτυχεῖ, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἔθνος πάντα πάσχετε τάναντία. ὅθεν ἐστὶν οὐ τεκμαίρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς πιστεύειν, ὅτι κρείττων ἢ εἰς τὸν προφῆτην πίστις τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως. (In subsequent notes this text will be referred to as Bryennius, *Διάλεξις*.) On occasion, Bryennius would turn this "Turkish" argument against the Latins. Cf. *Λόγος συμβουλευτικὸς περὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως*, ed. E. Boulgaris, I (1768), pp. 476–477: If you measure the truth of a Faith by worldly success, then the Agarenes and Ismaelites are more pious than ourselves; more than that: they are

your beliefs, why are you beaten? —Such is the standard argument which, in one variant or another, recurs in the polemics of the time. Gregory Palamas was confronted with one version at the discussion which was held during his captivity in Nicaea in 1355;⁴⁹ Turkish soldiers shouted another version at the defenders of Constantinople during the siege of 1422; the argument was put into the mouth of the Turk in various dialogues between “Faith and Unbelief.”⁵⁰

There were several answers to this argument. The simplest, the most frequent—and the dullest—was to make the sins of the Byzantines—not the merits of Islam—responsible for Turkish victories. There were other rebuttals, more sophisticated than mere repetitions of the theme that catastrophes occurred διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν. It is true, granted Palamas, that Mohammed, who started far in the East, had now extended his rule as far west as the setting sun. But his victories were made up of bloodshed, rapine, and enslavement, none of which could have derived from God. There is a difference between spiritual and military conquest. In the past, other rulers had conquered the world by force: Alexander the Great, for example, who moved from West to East. Here was a gentle reminder that in former ages the Greeks had been superior to the predecessors of the Turks.⁵¹

You infidels maintain that Islam is the true faith since it has conquered almost the whole of Christianity—said Joseph Bryennius about 1400, and continued: this is, in fact, wrong, for the Christians still greatly outnumber the Moslems. He then gave a list of twenty-eight Christian peoples, including the nations of the Latin West. His list was somewhat padded, for the Germans appear in it three times, as *Sasoi*, as *Germanoi* and as *Tudeskoi*, but he made his point. As for the Byzantines, their enslavement came from the fact that their religion was superior to that of the other Christians. Knowing this, the Devil had singled them out as the special target of his hatred.⁵²

even better than you Latins, who brag so much about your prosperity; were you not beaten at Nicopolis? Cf. the same argument in the *Letter to Maximos the Dominican*, ed. E. Boulgaris, III (1784), p. 150. There was a way out of the difficulty. One had only to divorce the question of religious truth from that of political success. This was done (when?) in Ps.-Sphrantzes, *Hist.* (= *Maius*), pp. 312–313, Bonn.

⁴⁹ Cf. Palamas' *Letter to David Dishypatos*, ed. M. Treu, Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 3 (1889–1891), p. 233 (Mohammed victorious).

⁵⁰ Siege of 1422: Iohannes Cananus, *Narratio*, p. 468, lines 7–9, Bonn (Where is your God, you benighted Romans? Where is your Christ? Where are your Saints to assist you? Tomorrow we shall take the City). Dialogues: Alexios Makrembolites, Διάλογος πίστεως καὶ ἀπιστίας, *Sabbaiticus Gr.* 417, fol. 70^r (Unbelief is speaking): ὁρῶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐμοὶ προσερχομένους καὶ γνησίως δουλεύοντας μηδέποτε ἄνιάρων ὑπ' οὐδενός, μηδ' ἄχαρι ὑπομένοντας, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κατατρυφῶντας . . . καὶ φονεύοντας αἰεὶ καὶ μοιχεύοντας, καὶ τάλλοτρία συλλήβδην ὁσημέραι ἀρπάζοντας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ [*sc.* Faith] πεποιθότας . . . ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἀνηκέστων αἰεὶ μεμαστιγμένους. Bryennius, Διάλεξις, fol. 149^r (the Infidel is speaking): διὰ τί δὲ μὴ τοῦ Μωάμεθ τὴν ἔλκευσιν ἐνεπρόδισεν ὁ Χριστός; ἔλθων γὰρ οὗτος σχεδὸν τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἀνέτρεψεν.

⁵¹ *Letter to David Dishypatos*, as in note 49.

⁵² Bryennius, Διάλεξις, fol. 149^r: ἔχονται τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως τῶν ἡμῖν ἐγνωσμένων ἐθνῶν Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Αἰθίοπες, οἱ τοσοῦτοί εἰσι τῷ πλήθει, ὥς μόνοι παραβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν οἰκουμένην· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐκείνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι, Μέλχοι, Χαλδαῖοι, Σύροι καὶ μέρος Περσῶν, Ἀρμένιοι, Ἰβήρρες, Κόλχοι, Ἀλανοί, Ἀβασγοί, Γότθοι, Βούλγαροι, Τριβαλ(λ)οί, Βόλχοι, Ἰλυριοί [*sic*] καὶ Ἀλβανῖται, Ῥῶσοι, Σάσοι, Οὐν(ν)οι καὶ Γερμανοί, Λογγιβάρδοι, Τουδέσκοι, Σπάνιοι, Γαλάται, πάντες οἱ τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους οἰκοῦντες, καὶ Ἰταλοί, καὶ ἕτεροι· τρία δὲ μόνον ἔθνη ἀλογία συλῶντα καὶ πρότερον, κατὰ κράτος ἐκείνῳ [*sc.* Mohammed] δεδούλωται· Σαρακηνοί, Ἰσραηλίται καὶ Σκύθαι . . . [fol. 149^v]: πάντα τὰ προειρημένα ἔθνη πιστεύει μὲν εἰς Χριστὸν, οὐ τοσοῦτον δὲ τῶν καλῶν ἐπιμέλεται· τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον, ὑπὲρ πάντα . . . ἐξ ὧν οἱ δαίμονες πρὸς φθόνον ἐρεθιζόμενοι, ἔθνη τὰ τοὺς πολέμους θέλοντα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεγεύρουσι. Cf. fol. 149^r: οὐδὲν [*sc.* no other nation] . . . φθονομένην πρὸς τῶν δαιμόνων οὕτω πίστιν ἐκτήσατο.

Bryennius was a rabid anti-Unionist who unfavorably compared the intolerant policy of the Western Church on Greek territories subject to Latin domination with the religious tolerance of the Turks. He must have been short of ammunition if he had to enlist the support of the Spaniards, Longobards, Britons, and Italians in refuting the Turkish argument. The difficulty of the Byzantine position lay in the fact that the Byzantines, too, believed that a true religion should assure the flourishing of an Empire. This conviction was a part of the imperial idea and was expressed, for all to read, in imperial addresses to the Fathers of the Oecumenical Councils.⁵³ Lengthy disquisitions on the theme "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth," pushed this belief into the background but could not obliterate it.

If one held such a belief consistently, one had to assume, as did a doubter of the mid-fourteenth century and many nameless apostates, that Turkish advances might be proof that Islam was the true faith.⁵⁴ And if not Islam as a whole, then at least some of its tenets, such as the strong belief in Providence. Pletho, for example, poured scorn on those who supported the Union of Churches for purely political reasons. By their passion for this *combinazione* they implied that God did not take care of human affairs. It was no wonder that He had exalted the infidels and humbled the Byzantines; for it was obvious that the Turks held a much sounder opinion of God's Providence than did the Byzantines.⁵⁵

But one could also make an inference which was less radical, though still favorable to the Moslem barbarians. If calamities were a retribution for the moral transgressions of the Byzantines, if their rulers were unjust, their administrators rapacious, their judges corrupt, their mediators false, their city-dwellers fraudulent, their peasants stupid, and all of them, taken together, utterly worthless⁵⁶—then the flourishing of the Moslems was due to their higher morality. The attitude of Alexius Makrembolites towards the Turks reflects this argument, and this writer, whom I have already quoted earlier, explained the thriving of the godless by their innate moral superiority to the Byzantines. In spite of their abominable faith, many Turks, he said, were like true Christians in their way of life and lacked only the name of Christian. On the other hand, the deeds of Makrembolites' compatriots were wicked; they mistreated the poor and consorted with godless sinners—acts which the Moslem Tartars, for instance, would never commit. Compared to the acts of

⁵³ Ed. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, II, 1, 1 (1933), p. 8, lines 28–30 (letter of Marcian); p. 29, lines 8–11 (letter of Pulcheria); p. 68, lines 3–10 (letter of Theodosius II and Valentinian III); II, 1, 2 (1933), p. 55, lines 4–6 (letter of Marcian); cf. III (1940), p. 189, lines 21–26 (address of Justinian I). The argument that the Christian religion must be true since Christians rule over the whole world, occurs in the eighth-century version of the anti-Jewish dialogue Ἀντιβολή Παπίσκου, ed. A. C. McGiffert, *Dialogue Between a Christian and a Jew* (1889), pp. 61, lines 16–18; 62, lines 3–4 and 17–19.

⁵⁴ Cf. Alexius Makrembolites, Ἀποδείξεις ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν εἰς προνομίην καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξεδόθημεν . . . , *Sabbaiticus Gr.* 417, fol. 21^v (scholion next to title): πρὸς τινὰ ἀντιρρητὶ <κός> τὸν τὰς ἀ<γίας> ἰκόνας [sic] αἰχμαλώτους ἰδόντα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἐνοχληθῆναι [sic] ὡς ἔλεγεν ὁρθὸν εἶναι τὸ δόγμα ὃ οἱ τῆς Ἀγαρ πρεσβεύουσιν.

⁵⁵ Πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λατινικοῦ δόγματος βιβλίον, Migne, PG, 160, col. 980.

⁵⁶ Joseph Bryennius, Τίνες αἰτίαι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς λυπηρῶν, ed. L. Oeconomus, *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, I (1930), p. 228.

social injustice committed by the Byzantines, the sacrilegious crimes of the Turks were less worthy of blame. Being ignorant barbarians, the Turks destroyed only painted icons, pieces of wood; by exploiting the poor, the Byzantines harmed the living icons of God.⁵⁷

Makrembolites' Turks were remote—and unintended—replicas of the Hellenistic noble barbarians whom he endowed with Christian virtues, not to praise them, but to put his compatriots to shame. Such is the function of noble barbarians in all literatures.

Did any prominent Byzantine before the fall of Constantinople attribute the growth of the Turkish power to natural, rather than to religious or moral, causes? For the fifteenth century, the rule is: if an unusual statement is needed, consult the writings of Pletho. When, in the second decade of that century, Pletho advocated the introduction of internal reforms in the Peloponnesus, he twice held up the Turkish example to Byzantine rulers: the formidable barbarians owed their successes to their internal organization. Whatever its flaws in other respects, the state organization of the Turks favored military efforts and was singularly adapted to the pursuit of an expansionist policy.⁵⁸ The inference was clear: in order to contain the Turk and to vanquish the Latin princes of the Peloponnesus, one should rebuild the Byzantine state from within and organize an efficient national army. Pletho's two incidental remarks are not much, but they are enough to show that not all Byzantines were like his younger contemporary Joseph Bryennius, who attributed the political plight of his compatriots to such sinful practices as consulting Jewish doctors or sleeping naked in bed.⁵⁹

Byzantine intellectuals did more than reassess their own culture and castigate the morals of their own society. Under the impact of changing reality, they rearranged their ideas of the historical process. In the writings of the last two centuries of the Empire, some new concepts appeared, some old motifs began to occur with greater frequency, and some views on Byzantium's place in the scheme of world history underwent a change. Byzantium was no longer a final stage in this scheme, but merely one of the Empires obeying the universal law of creation and destruction.

When the straw men set up by Cydones in the 1360's spoke of a flourishing New Rome, they were only repeating a worn-out cliché. That the New Rome (this name stood for Constantinople, but sometimes it meant the whole Byzantine Empire) was youthful and had outshone the Old, had been stated as early as the sixth century.⁶⁰ This concept found its most confident expression in

⁵⁷ This paragraph has been borrowed from my *Makrembolites*, p. 196. For textual quotations, cf. *ibidem*, notes 59–62. Even Joseph Bryennius had to admit that some Moslems led virtuous lives: Διάλεξις, fol. 152^r.

⁵⁸ Pletho, *Memoir for Theodore Palaeologus*, ed. Lampros III, IV (1930), p. 118, lines 2–5; *Letter to Manuel II*, *ibidem*, III (1926), p. 310, lines 7–11.

⁵⁹ Joseph Bryennius, ed. L. Oeconomos, *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, I (1930), p. 227. If Bryennius was a bigot, he was a well-read one. The eleventh Canon of the Quinisext Council forbids that priests and laymen receive treatment from Jewish doctors.

⁶⁰ Paulus Silentarius, *Descriptio S. Sophiae*, lines 164–167, ed. P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius* ... (1912), pp. 231–232.

the often quoted lines of the twelfth-century chronicler Constantine Manasses who contrasted Rome, sacked in the year 455, with the blossoming, growing, and youthful "Rome of ours," that is, twelfth-century Byzantium.⁶¹ He also praised the New Rome as the never-aging city, "the one without wrinkles."⁶² Wrinkles appeared on the face of New Rome immediately after the catastrophe of 1204. Nicetas Choniates found this face, recently so red-cheeked and fair to look upon, now suddenly sagging and furrowed with deep wrinkles.⁶³ He was not yet referring to the Empire's senility but to the suddenness with which that enchanting maiden of yesterday had been destroyed. However, in 1295 a panegyrist of the co-Emperor Michael IX saw in the wrinkles on Byzantium's face a result not of a sudden calamity but of an organic process. Not only did the body move toward old age with the passage of time, he reflected, but also the state lost its youthfulness with time, and, in a sense, became disfigured with wrinkles.⁶⁴ In one version of the speech which Constantine XII delivered on the eve of the Turks' final assault, Constantinople of the olden days was likened to a budding wild rose. This nostalgic reference implied that the city had withered at the approach of the final hour.⁶⁵

The weary feeling that the hour was late goes back to the early fourteenth century. Metochites was obsessed with the idea that he lived "late in time," "at a late point in mankind's life," "in the last age," "among the dregs of human affairs."⁶⁶ Describing the civil wars raging all over the world in 1343–1344, Gregoras saw the whole earth grown old with evil. He hoped that God would sweep it clean and thus prepare the rule of peace "at this late point in time."⁶⁷ This motif breaks through the clatter of panegyrics of the fifteenth century. Michael Apostolis praised John VIII for instilling confidence in his subjects, so that now, at this late hour, their thinking had become worthy of themselves and of freedom.⁶⁸ John Argyropoulos welcomed Constantine XII as the new emperor and hoped that Constantine's subjects would, at this late hour, see the light of freedom.⁶⁹

The hour was late. But with respect to what?

⁶¹ Manasses, *Compendium*, verses 2546–8, = 110, Bonn. Manasses' praise of "blossoming" Rome may have been influenced by the precept of the theoretician of eloquence Menander (if a city to be praised is surrounded by others which are old, the encomiast must say that they had decayed through time, while this one is flourishing [ἀνθεῖ]), cf. Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.*, III, p. 350, lines 21–22.

⁶² Manasses, *Compendium*, verses 2350–51 = 102, Bonn.

⁶³ Nic. Chon., *Hist.*, p. 764, lines 3–6, Bonn. *Idem*, Λόγος ἐκδοθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναγνωσθῆναι εἰς τὸν Λάσκαριν κύρ Θεόδωρον . . ., ed. Sathas, *MB*, I, p. 128.

⁶⁴ *Ambrosianus Gr. G 14 sup.*, fol. 55^r. Passage excerpted in A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, II (1829), p. XXXV. Italian summary by P. Lamma in *Aevum*, 29 (1955), p. 61, note 3.

⁶⁵ Ps.-Sphrantzes, *Hist.* (= *Maius*), p. 276, lines 6–8, Bonn, with an allusion to the Scriptures (Sir. 39:13).

⁶⁶ Metochites, *Miscellanea*, § 1, pp. 13; 14; 16; § 9, p. 68; § 71, p. 473; *idem*, *Poem 2*, verses 204; 231–2, ed. M. Treu, *Dichtungen des Grosslogotheten Theodoros Metochites* (= *Programm des Victoria-gymnasiums* [Potsdam, 1895]); *idem*, "Ελεγχος (Logos 13), *Vind. Phil. Gr.* 95, fols. 317^v–318^r: ἡμεῖς ὀψὲ τῶν χρόνων νῦν ἦκοντες, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' εἰρηκῶς μέμνημαι (allusion to the *Miscellanea*).

⁶⁷ Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, II, p. 687, lines 10–23, Bonn. Cf. *Hist.*, I, p. 242, lines 17–21, Bonn: *Florentios*, p. 490, ed. Jahn. For Joseph Bryennius, the world of his day had reached decrepit old age: ed. E. Boulgaris, I (1768), p. 129; III (1784), p. 116.

⁶⁸ *Address to Constantine XII*, ed. Lampros, ΠΠ, IV (1930), p. 81, lines 5–8.

⁶⁹ Βασιλικός, ed. Sp. Lampros, Ἀργυροπούλεια (1910), p. 47, lines 16–18.

When, at the time of Justinian, Choricus of Gaza alluded to the book of Daniel, he was sure of two things: that there would never be more than five empires and that the present, the last one, was the best and greatest of all.⁷⁰ In the tenth century Andrew, God's fool, otherwise pessimistic, prophesied that Constantinople would last until the end of the world,⁷¹ and in the twelfth, Manasses wished that New Rome might keep growing "until the end."⁷² History had come to a stop with the coming of the Empire, co-eternal with the world. This static conception was satisfactory in prosperous times. But how was it to be applied when the hour came to be late?

The obtuse, the pious, and the conservative, who kept their attachment to the static conception, inferred that the end of the world was coming.

During the reign of Andronicus III some traditionalists expected the end of the Empire because the Emperor did not insist on court etiquette, and some high officials, instead of wearing regulation headgear, appeared at court in Bulgarian, Turkish, and Latin hats.⁷³ At the same time, Gregory Palamas saw the sign of the coming end of the world in the teachings of his adversary, Barlaam.⁷⁴ But the judgment of other observers was more balanced. They recognized signs of the imminent end in natural phenomena, in the bloodshed of the civil wars, in the dearth of good leaders, in the political decline of the Empire, and in social injustice.⁷⁵ Before and after the fall of the Empire, Scholarios was especially fond of collecting evidence on the coming of this "day without evening."⁷⁶ There was logic in this self-centered conception. It was difficult to divorce the end of a Universal Empire from the end of the Universe itself.

Difficult, but not impossible. For some Byzantines the hour was late only in the life of *their* state, one among many.

Metochites knew—and said—that the Roman Empire did *not* encompass the whole *oecumene*, not even at the peak of its might.⁷⁷ In one of his musing moods he reviewed the material of the book of Daniel. His conclusions were empirical, not eschatological. He found that many formerly sovereign nations, which had ruled over many peoples, became enslaved when their turn came. This showed that in the affairs of states there was nothing lasting or eternal. Like organisms, peoples and empires were born, developed, decayed, and died at the time appointed. The whole was not altered in this rhythm of birth, blossoming, and

⁷⁰ *Apolog. Mimorum*, § 69, p. 360, lines 4–5, ed. Foerster (allusion to Daniel 2:39f.). For seventh- and tenth-century references to Constantinople's eternity, cf. N. H. Baynes in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67 (1950), pp. 171; 177, note 2.

⁷¹ Nicephorus Presbyter, *Vita Andreae Sali*, Migne, PG, 111, col. 853B.

⁷² *Compendium*, verse 2548 = 110, Bonn.

⁷³ Nic. Greg., *Hist.*, I, pp. 566, line 19ff., esp. 567, line 22–568, line 8.

⁷⁴ Nilus Patriarcha, *Encomium Palamae*, Migne, PG, 151, col. 665D.

⁷⁵ For passages from Macrembolites and Gregoras, cf. my *Makrembolites*, pp. 198–199, notes 71–73. Cf. the letter of the Patriarch Athanasius to Andronicus II, *Vat. Gr.* 2219, fol. 13v: "We should observe justice, temperance, and mercy, or else 'the whole' will perish": εἰ μέλλει μὴ ἀπολέσθαι τὸ πᾶν σὺν ἡμῖν. Ed. N. B. Tomadakes, *Βυζαντινὴ γραμμασιολογία* (1204–1453), I (1957), p. 125. Justice etc. are virtues with "social" connotations.

⁷⁶ Scholarios, *Oeuvres*, III, pp. 85, lines 6–7; 94, lines 27–28; 139, lines 12–16; 287, lines 8–14; IV, pp. 511, line 29–512, line 3.

⁷⁷ Metochites, *Miscellanea*, § 109, p. 717; cf. § 67, p. 420.

decay but its constituent parts were constantly disappearing. This dance seemed unending, said Metochites, borrowing a simile from Philo; but its participants continually spell each other. There was no exception to the universal law of decline, and the collapse of the Byzantine rule in Asia Minor was only one of its manifestations.⁷⁸

Alexius Makrembolites usually adhered to the eschatological school of history. But he explained the decline of the Empire by the decision of world-governing Providence which transferred sovereignty from one people to another.⁷⁹ This excluded any preference for the Byzantines.

The eschatological and the relativistic views of history could stand side by side on the same folio of a manuscript. The coming end of the world provided the explanation for the sorry state of the Byzantines; the transitory nature of empires helped to deflate the Turks. Where was Darius now, where Alexander, where Caesar? Where were Babylon and Antioch? Where the Medians and the Parthians? The Turks should not gloat too much. Their turn would come yet. This was the system adopted by Joseph Bryennius in his "Discussion with the Infidel."⁸⁰ But it was difficult to hold two mutually exclusive views at the same time. It was impossible to assume that the end of the world would come for the Byzantines alone,⁸¹ and one wondered how the Turks would have time to decline, if the general conflagration was around the corner.

Thus at the eleventh hour, even Scholarius dissociated the end of the world from the end of the Empire, when he predicted the fall of the City: "Near is the end... of this world, as can be deduced from the present state of affairs. And if not of the whole world, at least it must be said that *our nation* is at its last gasp, unless God should extend to us his protecting hand."⁸²

After the fall, it was almost easier to believe in the cyclical theory than to continue to set up deadlines for the end of the world or to compute dates for the Empire's miraculous rebirth.⁸³ Michael Apostolis grudgingly used the relativistic doctrine in comparing the ascending Italian culture with the old Hellenic one.⁸⁴ The pro-Turkish historian Critobulus invoked it to alleviate his compatriots'

⁷⁸ Metochites, *Miscellanea*, § 110, pp. 725–726; § 112, pp. 751; 752; 756–757. Compare the dance simile on p. 726 with Philo, *Quod deus sit immutabilis*, § 176. Metochites had read Philo: cf. *Miscellanea*, § 16, p. 116ff.

⁷⁹ Cf. my *Makrembolites*, p. 213, lines 16–18.

⁸⁰ Bryennius, Διάλεξις, fol. 149^r: Christian defeats occur τῷ τὴν συντέλειαν ἐγγίζειν. But on fol. 149^v we read a dirge for *les neiges d'antan*: καὶ ἦδε φυλὴ ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγκαυχομένη ἡφάνισται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς ... καὶ ἡ πολυάνθρωπος πόλις, καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον ἔθνος, κἂν δοκῇ μονιμοτέρως ἐπιπολάζειν τῷ βίῳ· ἀλλ' οὖν τέλος ὑφίσταται τέως, ἡ ἀπεκδέχεται ... εἰ δὲ μή, ποῦ Κύρος, ποῦ Δάρειος, ποῦ Ἀλέξανδρος, ποῦ Καῖσαρ ... ποῦ Νινευί ... Βαβυλῶν, Ἀντιόχεια ... ποῦ Μασαγέται καὶ Μῆδοι ... ὥστε μὴ καυχᾶσθω τις ἐν πλῆθει γένους, καὶ τυράννων ἰσχύει, καὶ πόλεων μεγέθει, τῶν νῦν ὄντων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον οὐκ ἔσομένων.

⁸¹ The difficulty must have dawned upon Bryennius, for he made the Infidel ask [Διάλεξις, fol. 149]: καὶ πῶς εἰς μὲν τᾶλλα τῶν γενῶν οὐκέτι συντέλεια, εἰς δὲ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γένος καὶ μόνον;

⁸² Scholarius, *Oeuvres*, III, p. 94, lines 27–30.

⁸³ Scholarius, *Oeuvres*, IV, pp. 511, line 29–512, line 3 (end of the world in 21 or 41 years after 1472); Ducas, *Hist.*, XXXIII, 8 = pp. 285, line 28–287, line 12 ed. Grecu (Mehmed II's successor will rule for four years; then the tyranny will come to an end); XXXVIII, 8 = p. 339, lines 8–10 (in Ducas' opinion, Mehmed II will be the last tyrant of his house); XLII, 14 = pp. 400, line 22–401, line 20 (end of Othman's dynasty soon after the end of the Palaeologi).

⁸⁴ Ed. B. Laourdas, Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 19 (1949), p. 243, lines 26–28; free translation of the passage by D. J. Geanakoplos in *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, I, 2 (1958), pp. 160–161.

—and perhaps his own—sense of guilt. Since all empires were transitory, it followed that the Byzantines could no more be blamed for suffering defeat in 1453 than for submitting to natural laws.⁸⁵

The senility of a state, the lateness of the hour, the transience of empires—all these were circumlocutions which did not answer the question concerning the death of the Byzantines' own society. Our generation can appreciate how difficult it is to face such a question squarely. The clearest among the Byzantine minds did face it and their political prognostications deserve our respect.

The philosophically inclined among the prognosticators extrapolated from past events and were led to the conclusion that the end of Byzantium was imminent. But, being intellectuals, they hesitated to take the final step. Most of what remained of Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor was overrun by the Turks under Metochites' own eyes. This collapse was bad enough. But the worst was yet to come, as could be plainly seen by any person of intelligence, able to make deductions from past occurrences. When Metochites himself reflected upon the general situation, all hope abandoned him. He yearned for death to take him away before he saw what would inevitably be witnessed by those who would live a little longer. We may excuse him for the stilted phrases in which he couched this thought. We know that he meant the demise of Byzantium. But—and this was a halt before the brink—he consoled himself by saying that the future was full of surprises. Reality might yet turn out to be better than his conjectures.⁸⁶

The practical men among the prognosticators, like Cantacuzenus' supporters in 1341, weighed the consequences of their political decisions and soberly discussed the possibility of the total dismemberment of the Empire by the Bulgarians and the Serbs.⁸⁷

The advocates of internal reforms made the adoption of the measures they proposed the sole condition of survival; they realized that the Turk aimed at the total annihilation of the Empire, insisted that the extent of the danger be made widely known and warned that the time for delay was over.⁸⁸ If you do not act now, an anonymous author of the mid-fourteenth century lectured some procrastinating officials, everything will collapse and you will be left with nothing to deliberate about.⁸⁹ If we Byzantines remain as we are now, said Pletho, nothing will save us, neither the Union with the Latins nor with anyone else.⁹⁰ Bessarion, too, urged that his reforms be adopted if the Byzantines were to escape final ruin.⁹¹

Finally, some prognosticators sensed the future so acutely—or were so eager

⁸⁵ *Hist.*, I, 3, § 4–§ 6, ed. K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, V (1873), p. 55. English translation by Ch. T. Riggs, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror . . .* (1954), pp. 11–12.

⁸⁶ Metochites, *Miscellanea*, § 37, pp. 231–232; § 38, pp. 242–243.

⁸⁷ Cantac., *Hist.*, II, p. 154, lines 3–19; cf. p. 156, line 8, Bonn.

⁸⁸ Pletho, *Memoir for Despot Theodore*, ed. Lampros, ΠΠ, IV (1930), pp. 115, lines 3–5; 116, lines 16–18; 131, lines 5–6; 135, lines 19–20.

⁸⁹ Cf. my edition in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), p. 198, lines 69–71.

⁹⁰ Πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λατινικοῦ δόγματος βιβλίον, Migne, PG, 160, cols. 979–980 (the reference is to treating religious matters as matters of principle).

⁹¹ *Letter to Despot Constantine*, ed. Lampros, ΠΠ, IV (1930), p. 38, line 23.

to prod the Latins into action—that they cried wolf. In 1364 Cydones warned Simon Atumanus, a Greek prelate of Catholic faith then in the West, that the City would fall if no western relief action was undertaken within a year. The facts spoke for themselves. After the fall of the City the Golden Horde and the whole of Asia Minor would be subdued by the Ottomans, and all these masses would move against Europe. If the Latins did not want to fight at Constantinople now, soon they would have to set up their lines of defense in Italy and on the Rhine.⁹² The year 1365 came and the City did not fall. Cydones had to eat his words, but we know that in the long run his apprehensions were justified.

Scholarius was better as a prophet of doom. But in 1452 one did not have to be an intellectual in order to foresee the future. The coming end of the City was a topic of anxious conversations among simple Christians all over the Levant.⁹³

Three years ago Paul Lemerle applied the notion of decadence to the Byzantine Empire. He concluded that Byzantium was aware of the mortal danger to which it was exposed but that the Byzantine collective consciousness was not aware of a decadence.⁹⁴ For this, I should like to substitute the following formulation: During the last century and a half of the Empire's existence, Byzantine intellectuals displayed certain constant attitudes under the influence of tradition and certain varying attitudes under the impact of the worsening reality. More often than not, these opposing attitudes are attested in the writings of the same author. We may therefore speak of two techniques used by Byzantine intellectuals. The one, which remained predominant, was to cling to concepts and devices elaborated in the past. Although this technique enjoyed a great deal of autonomy with respect to reality, it was sometimes very useful; it may be argued that the skillful application of the Byzantine imperial idea prolonged the life of the Empire. The other technique, less systematically applied, was to assess the decline of the Empire and to react to it. Like their colleagues of all epochs, intellectuals of late Byzantium were best at criticizing, warning, and predicting; less good at detecting the cause of events and at offering constructive proposals. But they were not blind.

⁹² Cydones, *Letter* 93, ed. R. J. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydonès, Correspondance* . . . , p. 127, line 85 ff.

⁹³ Ducas, *Hist.*, XXXIV, 5 = p. 297, lines 6–13, ed. Grecu (on the occasion of the construction of Rumeli Hissarı by Mehmed II).

⁹⁴ "La notion de décadence à propos de l'Empire byzantin," *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam* (Symposium de Bordeaux) (1957), p. 271.

DUMBARTON OAKS

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THE TOMBS AND OBITS OF THE
BYZANTINE EMPERORS
(337–1042)

PHILIP GRIERSON

With An
ADDITIONAL NOTE

by
CYRIL MANGO and IHOR ŠEVČENKO

THE once long and splendid series of Byzantine imperial tombs is represented for most visitors to Istanbul by four immense porphyry sarcophagi which stand in the courtyard in front of the Museum of Antiquities.¹ They are not the total of those known to exist. A fragment of the side of another and two fragments of a lid are preserved in the museum itself, and there are two in the church of St. Irene and one in the yard of the mosque Nuruosmaniye.² A French traveller in the eighteenth century saw in the grounds of the Seraglio three further sarcophagi or parts of sarcophagi—two of porphyry and the lid of another made of verd antique—which have since disappeared.³ Their identity is not in doubt, though the gold and precious ornaments that once adorned them were sent to the melting pot in 1196 by Alexius III⁴ and none of them is accompanied by any imperial inscription or epitaph. Porphyry was too costly a material and too hard to work for sarcophagi of such size to have belonged to lesser persons, and there is an exact correspondence between the number actually surviving plus the two discovered in the eighteenth century and that of the imperial sarcophagi described by the written sources as being of porphyry.⁵ The remaining tombs in the inferior grades of marble—green Thessalian, white Proconnesian, variegated Sagarian, and so forth—with which the emperors had to content themselves when porphyry was no longer available cannot at present be identified.

The great majority of the imperial sarcophagi once stood in the mausolea of the church of the Holy Apostles, which from the fourth to the eleventh century

¹ I should like to express my thanks to Cyril Mango for his help with this paper. He read the first version of it and provided me with much helpful information and criticism, while at a later stage, to use the happy phrase coined by my friend Ralph Giesey, he "exorcised the final draft of many defects of fact and fancy." He is not to be regarded as necessarily endorsing all the views put forward in it.

² A. A. Vasiliev, "Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 4 (1948), 1-26; R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), 221-27; J. Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique de Constantinople* (Paris, 1921), 1-14.

³ A. M. Schneider, "Das Regium sepulchrum apud comitatum zu Konstantinopel," *Nachrichten d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1950), 15-21; C. Mango, "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750," *infra*, p. 397 ff. Schneider's attribution of one of them to Valentinian I on the ground that the Emperor was buried in the precincts of the palace—this is his explanation of the phrase *apud comitatum*—is invalidated by the fact that he was really buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles (*infra*, p. 42), and Mr. Mango shows conclusively that the lid of verd antique belonged to the tomb of Manuel I Comnenus.

⁴ Nicetas Choniates, Bonn ed., 632. He was raising money to buy off the Emperor Henry VI. The Crusaders of 1204 also rifled the interiors of the tombs, which Alexius III had left intact (*De Signis Constantinopolitanis*, chap. 2; *ibid.*, p. 855). Cf. Vasiliev, *art. cit.*, 15-16.

⁵ Vasiliev, pp. 8-10, argued that nine porphyry sarcophagi were recorded in the sources and nine, or rather fragments of nine, were still in existence. This is not quite correct, as Mr. Mango points out (*art. cit.*, p. 399 f.). One item in Vasiliev's list is a fragment that was probably not part of a sarcophagus at all, while the inclusion of the two sarcophagi formerly in the Seraglio grounds would bring the total known in modern times up to ten. This would correspond to the nine enumerated in the Greek lists plus that of Valentinian I, which is mentioned only by Leo Grammaticus and by the *Necrologium imperatorum* to be discussed below. The *Necrologium*, it is true, adds two more to the list of porphyry tombs, those of Anastasius I and Justin I, but in both cases wrongly; see *infra*, pp. 45-46.

served as the chief repository for the mortal remains of the emperors.⁶ This church was situated in the western part of the city, standing on the main street which connected the Forum of Theodosius and the Charisian Gate (Edirnekapı) and which corresponded to the modern Fevzi Paşa cad. It has now totally disappeared. It was already in a bad state of repair at the date of the Turkish conquest, and Mehmet the Conqueror had it demolished to clear the ground for the great mosque of Mehmet Fatih which bears his name. For its appearance and ground plan we have to rely mainly on the account in Procopius' *De Aedificiis*,⁷ for it was largely rebuilt by Justinian, and on the elaborate description composed in the late twelfth century by Nicolas Mesarites of which Professor Glanville Downey has recently given us a new edition and translation.⁸ There is also a metrical account by the tenth-century poet Constantine the Rhodian,⁹ and later visitors describe it at varying length in their lists of "things seen" at Constantinople.

The circumstances of its foundation and early history are extremely obscure, since from the fourth century onwards there were two rival traditions on the subject, one attributing the church to Constantine the Great and the other to his son and successor Constantius II. Professor Downey, who studied the question at some length ten years ago,¹⁰ was strongly of the opinion that the builder of both the mausoleum of Constantine and the church itself was Constantius II; the rival tradition goes back ultimately to the last chapters of Book IV of the *Vita Constantini*,¹¹ and these are so full of improbabilities that they must be regarded as part of the pious embroidery which was very early tacked on to such sections as may be the genuine work of Eusebius. The problem is too complicated for discussion here. The contradictions of the

⁶ Good summary and bibliography by R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 1^{re} partie. *Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Ecuménique*, iii: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 46–55. The chief studies are A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche: Zwei Basiliken Konstantins II. Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel* (Leipzig, 1908), and, for the plan, K. Wulzinger, "Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel," *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 7–39. Cf. also the description of J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople: Recueil d'études d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1951), 31–43.

⁷ *De Aedificiis*, i.4.9–24. The Loeb edition (Procopius, *Works*, vii.48–54) contains useful notes. The fact that Procopius makes no allusion to the mausoleum constructed by Justinian would indicate that this was later in date than his rebuilding of the church, and bears out Glanville Downey's view that Book I of the *De aedificiis* was composed comparatively early in the reign, before the death of Theodora, even though the work as a whole was completed only in or after 559/60 ("Notes on Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, Book I," in *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson*, ed. G. E. Mylonas and D. Raymond, 2 [Saint Louis, 1953], 719–25).

⁸ "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Trans. American Philosophical Society*, N.S., 47 (1957), 855–924. This work was first discovered and published by Heisenberg in the book referred to in note 6. Its particular importance lies in its account of the mural decorations of the church.

⁹ E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople: Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien," *Revue des études grecques*, 9 (1896), 32–65, esp. lines 425ff. Cf. T. Reinach, "Commentaire archéologique sur le poème de Constantin le Rhodien," *loc. cit.*, 91–103, and O. Wulff, "Die sieben Wunder von Byzanz und die Apostelkirche nach Konstantinos Rhodios," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 7 (1898), 316–31.

¹⁰ Glanville Downey, "The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 6 (1951), 51–80.

¹¹ The chapters are as follows: 58–59 (building of the church of the Apostles), 60 (building of the mausoleum), 64–67 (death and lying-in-state), 70–71 (burial by Constantius in the mausoleum). Heikel's text (in vol. 1 of the works of Eusebius [Leipzig, 1902]) is preferable to that in Migne.

narrative and descriptive sources are so complete and their authority so evenly balanced that there seems little hope of settling the question decisively; it is one of those on which scholars must agree to differ. Though the tendency in recent years has been towards the rehabilitation of the *Vita Constantini*—a recently published papyrus fragment, for example, has conclusively proved the authenticity of one of its documents¹²—my personal view is that the last chapters, which are those relevant here, are in the main fiction and that the church of the Holy Apostles was built by Constantius II. The records of the translation there of the relics of St. Timothy in 356 and of those of St. Andrew and St. Luke in 357 and of the consecration of the church in 370¹³ come from a work which has drawn this kind of information from contemporary sources and is in a high degree trustworthy. On the other hand, I incline to the view that the mausoleum was the work of Constantine. It is incredible that an emperor with such a passion for building should have neglected to undertake what was, after all, a normal imperial activity, and the assertion of Philostorgius that the mausoleum was erected by Constantius II¹⁴ is outweighed by the more modest and credible statement in Julian's Panegyric of Constantius that the latter did much to adorn his father's tomb.¹⁵ Its description in the *Vita Constantini*, however, must be written off as fable.¹⁶ The twelve "coffins as it might be sacred pillars" (θήκας ὡσανεὶ στήλας ἱεράς) which flanked the sarcophagus of Constantine correspond to nothing about which we hear from subsequent writers, and it is difficult even to envisage what such a phrase, which sounds like a stage direction for Mozart's Magic Flute, can mean.¹⁷ Eusebius' account of Constantine's funeral, though containing authentic and traditional elements,¹⁸ is probably also to some degree fabulous, though there is no convincing evidence in favor of the rival tradition that the Emperor was first buried in the Church of St. Acacius and transferred to the mausoleum only at a later date.¹⁹

The church as rebuilt by Justinian was cruciform in shape, with a great central cupola and subordinate domes over each of the arms of the cross. Procopius says that its plan was the same as that of the Church of St. John at Ephesus, the ruins of which still survive.²⁰ The tombs were, with few exceptions,

¹² A. H. M. Jones, "Notes on the Genuineness of the Constantinian Documents in Eusebius's Life of Constantine," *Journ. of Ecclesiastical History*, 5 (1954), 196–200. Downey has not, I think, done justice to Baynes and others who have maintained the essential authenticity of the *Vita* against the criticisms of Crivellucci, Pasquali, and Batiffol in the past and Grégoire and Seston in more recent years.

¹³ *Chronicon Paschale*, a.356, 357, 370 (Bonn ed., i.542, 559).

¹⁴ *Hist. eccles.*, iii.2 (ed. J. Bidez [Leipzig, 1913] 31–3). It must be remembered that we have the text only in Photius' summary.

¹⁵ Oratio, i.12 (ed. J. Bidez in *L'Empereur Julien. Oeuvres complètes*, I (i) [Paris, 1932], 28–9).

¹⁶ Cf. Downey, *art. cit.*, p. 69, note 58, where he rightly makes the point that the compromise solution—a building begun by Constantine and completed by his son—while quite reasonable and likely in itself, cannot be squared with the actual assertions of the *Vita Constantini*.

¹⁷ Some commentators have supposed them to be statues of the Apostles, but θῆκαι could not possibly be interpreted in this sense.

¹⁸ P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "I funerali ed il sepolcro di Costantino Magno," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire (Ecole française de Rome)*, 36 (1916–17), 206–61. Cf. Downey, *art. cit.*, p. 71, note 59.

¹⁹ Cf. Downey, *art. cit.*, pp. 74–6, who is inclined to credit this tradition.

²⁰ *De Aedificiis*, v. i. 6; For a detailed account of St. John's, see *Forschungen in Ephesos* (Österreich. Archäol. Institut), IV 3, *Die Johanneskirche* (Vienna, 1951).

not in the body of the church but in two mausolea—the Greek texts use the classical word ἡρώων, while the Latin *Necrologium* uses *sacrarium* to describe them—built in its precincts. The southern one of the two, domed and circular in shape (σφαιροειδῆς καὶ κυκλικός), and dominated by the tomb of Constantine which is described by Buondelmonti as *immensus*, was known as the Mausoleum of Constantine. One is tempted to envisage it in terms of the Pantheon at Rome, with its great sarcophagi of the monarchs of the house of Savoy, but it was much smaller in size and it had what Mesarites terms “stoae angles” (περικύκλω στῳαῖκαῖς γωνίαις κατατεμνόμενος), so that the general effect would not have been that of a purely circular building, whether open as in the Pantheon or upheld by a complete circle of columns as in the rotunda of Santa Costanza at Rome.²¹ The northern mausoleum was that of Justinian, cruciform in shape—probably with very short arms—and having an apse to the east; it was perhaps a little larger than that of Constantine, at least if the number of tombs it finally contained is any indication of total area. Their relationship to the main church is not very clear; certainly it was not as simple as that of, e.g., the Old and New Sacristies with the Medici tombs to the Church of San Lorenzo at Florence. The mausoleum of Constantine was entered from the western side, since we are told that it had sarcophagi to its north, east, and south; when the Emperor visited it on the feast of St. Constantine, he proceeded to the left (i.e. north) and east of the *bema* of the main church.²² The mausoleum of Justinian must have been situated to the east of the north transept, the entrance being from the transept.²³

These two mausolea held the great majority of the tombs, but from various sources we know of one emperor (Valentinian I) and several imperial relatives—Gratian’s wife Constantia, Maurice’s father Paul—who were buried at the Holy Apostles²⁴ and are otherwise unaccounted for. Presumably, despite legislation against the practice,²⁵ their sarcophagi stood in the main body of the church with those of the patriarchs of Constantinople.²⁶ There were, in addition, two small “stoas”²⁷ of which the northern one held the tombs of Julian

²¹ The most useful discussion of the actual appearance of the mausoleum is by R. Egger, “Die Begräbnisstätte des Kaisers Konstantin,” *Jahreshefte des österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, 16 (1913), 212–30, though I am not convinced by his tentative reconstruction of its ground plan on p. 216. He gives a number of plans of comparative buildings (the mausoleum of Diocletian at Salona, Santo Stefano rotondo at Rome, etc.).

²² Bonn ed., p. 533. The mausoleum adjoined a wooden staircase that led up to the gallery of the church (*ibid.*, p. 538).

²³ *Infra*, p. 30.

²⁴ *Infra*, notes 77, 107.

²⁵ *Infra*, note 76.

²⁶ That the patriarchs of Constantinople, at least in the fifth century, were normally interred in the church we know from Pulcheria’s letter of 451 to Pope Leo I describing how she had caused the body of Flavian to be brought back to a tomb there (Mansi, *Concilia*, vi. 101). Similarly the body of St. John Chrysostom was reburied there by the care of Theodosius II (Theodorus Lector, ii. 65, in Migne, PG, 86 [1], col. 216). St. Ignatius, on the other hand, was buried elsewhere when he died in 877 (*infra*, note 132). The tendency was to regard it specifically as the burying place of the emperors; cf. *infra*, p. 25.

²⁷ The records term each a *στοά*, which at this time meant any building or part of a building with pillars supporting a roof. See G. Downey, “The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *Stoa* and *Basilike* in Classical Literature,” *Amer. Journ. of Archeology*, 41 (1937), 194–211.

and his successor Jovian and the southern one those of Arcadius, his wife Eudoxia, and his son Theodosius II. Their position and arrangement are discussed *infra*.

Our fullest and best account of the imperial tombs is that compiled at the direction of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and copied after his death, with other miscellaneous papers he had accumulated on various topics, as a kind of appendix, into the manuscript of the *De Ceremoniis*.²⁸ The Emperor's intention was evidently to compose a kind of brochure περί τῶν τάφων τῶν βασιλέων, and with this in mind he caused to be listed the imperial tombs in all the churches of the city. It is in two main sections, each one subdivided according to location and with the tombs in each division arranged in chronological order. The plan is as follows:

I. The Church of the Holy Apostles.

1. Mausoleum of Constantine.
2. Mausoleum of Justinian.
3. The two "stoas."

II. Other churches.

1. Monastery of the Augusta. (Justin I and Euphemia.)
2. St. Mamas. (Maurice and his family.)
3. Staurakion. (Stauracius and Theophano.)
4. The Lady Euphrosyne. (Constantine VI and his family; Anna, daughter of Theophilus.)
5. Gastria. (Theodora, wife of Theophilus, and her relations.)
6. St. Euphemia in Petron. (Basil I's relations.)
7. St. Michael Promotou. (Maria, daughter of Basil I.)

There are three obvious gaps: tombs in the main body of the church of the Holy Apostles, tombs of usurpers or of emperors who were regarded as such,²⁹ and tombs of emperors who were buried at Prinkipo or elsewhere outside the city. The second of these groups of omissions was no doubt deliberate and the third may be due to the fact that the survey was never completed, but the first is difficult to explain. Perhaps the tombs involved proved too difficult to separate from those of nonimperial personages who were interred in the church.

We possess two versions of this *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. The fuller one, which can conveniently be termed L from the location of the chief manuscript

²⁸ The best discussion of these addenda is that of J. B. Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos," *English Historical Review*, 22 (1907), 207-27. The list of tombs, which the table of contents shows to have followed on a list of emperors which has disappeared—there is a lacuna in the Leipzig MS—is discussed on pp. 217-9, 223-5. In the table of contents (Bonn ed., i. 513) the *Indiculus imperatorum* is numbered cap. 42 and the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* cap. 43, but Reiske in his text has dropped the number for the missing chapter and renumbered the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* as cap. 42. This will somewhat confuse references in the future, for it should ultimately be possible to recover the text of part of the *Indiculus* from the recently discovered palimpsest in the Patriarchal Library at Istanbul; see C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "A New Manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), 248-9, and *infra*, "Additional Note," p. 61 ff.

²⁹ E.g. the tombs of Romanus I and his family in the monastery of the Myrelaion; see *infra*, pp. 28-29.

(Leipzig), is that in the *Book of Ceremonies*.³⁰ The shorter one, which is rather later in date, forms part of *Recensio C* of the curious guidebook to the sights of the capital which bears the title Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.³¹ The earliest version of this work, without any list of tombs, was composed towards the end of the tenth century, while recension C dates from the reign of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118).³² The list of tombs which it contains is known in slightly divergent versions, which their latest editor,³³ using manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, has christened C (= Colbertinus 3607, now Fonds grec 1788) and R (= Cod. Reg. 3058, 4, now Fonds grec 1783). Though both manuscripts are of the fifteenth century, the versions themselves date from the eleventh. Of these various texts L is the fullest, but since it was copied into the manuscript of the *Book of Ceremonies* during the reign of Romanus II (959-63), it ends with Constantine VII, whose name evidently represents an addition to the list prepared at this monarch's direction before his death. Texts C and R contain only a selection of the earlier tombs, but continue the list from Constantine VII onwards, adding information concerning those of Nicephorus Phocas († 969), Theophano († *post* 976), and Constantine VIII († 1028), thus completing the total of those in the Mausoleum of Constantine.³⁴ Bury, in discussing the list in the *Book of Ceremonies*, believed that it was condensed from a somewhat longer version (A) which no longer survives, but it is more likely that A existed in little more than note form and that L, C, and R each represent this in expanded and somewhat more grammatical versions. A person compiling such a list of tombs would initially do so in the form of brief notes, particularly when changes in the sequence would have to be made later, and if he made the list *in situ*—it is clear from many details in the wording that this was in fact done—he would tend to follow the order in which the tombs were arranged in the church. A comparison of the three texts indicates that while L is the most complete so far as the total of entries is concerned, C and R may preserve more accurately the actual wording of the original notes.

The lists of tombs were evidently compiled on the basis of information available in one form or another in the churches where they were situated. The

³⁰ The only complete ed. is that by J. J. Reiske in the Bonn corpus ed. of the *De Ceremoniis*, ii. 42 (vol. i. 642-9), with invaluable notes by the editor. A new edition of the section dealing with the church of the Holy Apostles has been published by Glanville Downey in his article, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople," *Journ. Hell. Studies*, 79 (1959), 27-51, with useful introduction and notes.

³¹ Ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 (Leipzig, 1907).

³² *Ibid.*, p. xvff. Since the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* does not form part of the original text of the *Patria*, it is omitted from Preger's edition.

³³ Downey, *art. cit.* (*supra*, note 30). The fact that C and R formed part of the revised version of the *Patria*, which was overlooked by Downey, was pointed out by A. Maricq, "Notes philologiques: 4. Les sarcophages impériaux de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, 22 (1952), 370-1; there are consequently further manuscripts not used by Downey. Text C was originally printed by C. Du Fresne Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana* (= part 2 of his *Historia Byzantina* [Paris, 1680]), book 4, 109-110. Text R was printed by A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale* (Paris, 1711), I (2), 121-4, with commentary in vol. 2, 807-16; the text and notes are reproduced in Migne, PG, 157, cols. 725-40. My citations are from Downey's edition, which gives a more accurate text than the earlier versions and is accompanied by a valuable discussion of the relationship between them.

³⁴ The two other emperors who died in the intervening period, John Zimisce († 976) and Basil II († 1025), were buried in the chapel of the Saviour in the Chalkê and in the church of St. John in the Hebdomon respectively. See *infra*, note 103, and Appendix, note 195.

existing sarcophagi, like most of those which have survived from antiquity, bear no mark of identification. Some of those which have not survived would have had a simple statement of ownership, like the γλοσσοκόμος Ἀλεξάνδρου δομῆστίκου which text L records as marking the tomb to which the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia were transferred by Leo VI.³⁵ In other cases there would have been a metrical epitaph inscribed either on the sarcophagus itself or on a plaque accompanying it. This was the case for the tomb of Julian,³⁶ for that of the widow of Maurice and her family in the church of St. Mamas,³⁷ and for that of Basil II in the church of St. John in the Hebdomon.³⁸ Whether there were also epitaphs which conveyed the kind of precise information sometimes found on those of the later empire—the day and month of death and the exact length of life or reign³⁹—we do not know; it may well have been that there were.⁴⁰ But there must also have been many sarcophagi which were identifiable only through traditions handed down from one custodian to another and not always capable of authentication from the records of the church. Such mixtures of documented and traditional identifications are found for any series of monuments in the possession of a corporate body, whether Hapsburg tombs in the Augustiner-Kirche at Vienna or portraits of early Masters or benefactors in an Oxford or Cambridge college.

Mistakes in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* might result either from incorrect initial identifications, which would mislead the compiler of the original notes, or inadequate descriptions in the latter, which would mislead the copyists of L, C, and R. Errors which can be shown to have arisen in both these ways do in fact occur. An example of the first kind is that of the tomb of Eudocia, wife of Justinian II, for the compiler of the notes, faced with *Eudokia uxor Iustiniani* or some similarly worded identification, understood it to refer to a wife of Justinian I, and entered it after the name of Theodora when he came to rearrange his entries in chronological order.⁴¹ Inadequate identifications of the tombs of the three Constantines who in turn succeeded Heraclius have likewise spread confusion through all the versions of the *Catalogus*. Errors of the second type have affected the entries regarding the tombs of Theodosius I and Michael III. The tomb of Theodosius I in the mausoleum of Constantine, listed correctly in L and R, is attributed to Theodosius II in C. As for that of Michael III, which occupies a different position in lists L and C—it is omitted from list R—it was probably overlooked in the initial survey and then inserted

³⁵ *Infra*, p. 46. It would probably be true to say that in antiquity the likelihood of a sarcophagus bearing a mark of identity is in inverse proportion to the importance of its occupant. Only a sovereign would take it for granted that his tomb would be generally recognized.

³⁶ *Infra*, p. 41.

³⁷ *Infra*, Appendix, note 88.

³⁸ *Infra*, Appendix, note 195.

³⁹ Cf. E. Le Blant, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule* (Paris, 1886), 27 (*qui vixit ann. xlv, m. viii, d. xvi*), 105 (length of married life), 157 (*qui obiit xii kal. Februarias indic. undecima*). So in later times that for Charlemagne gave his age and length of reign and the exact day of his death (Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, chap. 31), and the metrical epitaphs composed by Paul the Deacon, Alcuin, and others sometimes managed to incorporate a few factual details.

⁴⁰ But Byzantine metrical epitaphs rarely condescended to details; see those collected by Cougny, in F. Dübner and E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, 3 (Paris, 1890), p. 211 ff. (but cf. nos. 746, 748, 749).

⁴¹ Downey, "Tombs," 35, note on no. 20.

as an afterthought in the original notes at the bottom of the page and reduced to the single word Μιχαήλ. The copyist of L knew that it referred to Michael III; so he transferred it to the correct chronological place in the list and amplified its contents, explaining that the tomb had originally belonged to Justin I and Euphemia and had been brought to the church of the Holy Apostles by Leo VI. The copyist of C, puzzled by its identity and position, left it in its original place at the end of the list, so that it got mixed up with the additions (Romanus II, Nicephorus Phocas, etc.), and identified it with Michael II the Amorian. The copyist of R solved the difficulty by omitting it altogether.⁴²

II

In addition to the various versions of the *Catalogus* and the summary list of tombs given by Nicolas Mesarites,⁴³ there exists another list which has so far escaped the attention of Byzantine scholars. Less complete than the *Catalogus*, since it virtually limits itself to the tombs of the emperors, it is in one respect of much greater interest, for it gives the dates of death or deposition of every emperor from Constantine the Great († 337) to Michael V († 1042).

This list of obits, lengths of reigns, and tombs, which can be most conveniently termed the *Necrologium imperatorum*—it is really a *Necrologium imperatorum et catalogus eorum sepulchrorum*—is in Latin and dates in its final form from the thirteenth century, but goes back to a lost Greek compilation originally put together in the tenth century and continued in Greek down to the reign of Alexius Comnenus. It has survived as one of a group of sources dealing with the early history of Venice of which the best known is the *Chronicon Venetum*, otherwise called the *Chronicon Altinate*, of which Potthast unflatteringly said that he knew of no more extraordinary hotchpotch in the whole of historical literature. *Cum codices inter se minime congruant*, as Simonsfeld ruefully observed, it defies satisfactory editing, the reason being that it is really a collection of material—lists of doges, patriarchs, and bishops, histories of early Venice going back to Trojan origins, accounts of Venetian noble families, and so forth—and not a finished work. The only complete edition is that published by Roberto Cessi⁴⁴ under the title of *Origo civitatum Italie seu Venetiarum* and having as subtitle *Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense*, these being the names by which two of its major sections were described by their earliest editors⁴⁵ and under which they subsequently appeared in the

⁴² Downey, *art. cit.*, pp. 48–51.

⁴³ *Description*, chaps. 39, 40 (ed. Downey, pp. 891–3). This is only a selection, twelve from the Mausoleum of Constantine and six from that of Justinian, the remaining emperors being bluntly dismissed: “concerning the others, why should we care, since their memories are buried with them in their tombs.” The selection seems to have been made partly on aesthetic and partly on historical grounds, so as to include conspicuous tombs and well-known names. It is useful for ascertaining the layout of the mausolea.

⁴⁴ In the series *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* published by the Istituto storico italiano (Rome, 1933). I refer to this edition throughout. The *Necrologium*, with its preliminary *Series imperatorum Romanorum*, is on p. 102 ff.

⁴⁵ The *Chronicon Altinate* was first published, though incompletely, from manuscript S (see *infra* on the MSS) by A. Rossi in *Archivio storico italiano*, 8 (1845) 1–228, of which Book IV on pp. 116–29 consists of the *Chronicon Gradense*. The variant sections in D, the Dresden MS, were printed by F. Polidori in *Arch. stor. ital., Appendice*, v (1847), 1–128.

Monumenta Germaniae Historica.⁴⁶ The literature on them is very extensive⁴⁷ but is almost entirely occupied with the question of how far they form a reliable guide to the early history of Venice, so that their short but very important Byzantine sections have been all but completely neglected.

In view of the complications regarding the text and the divergence between the different versions, it is necessary to explain briefly the manuscript tradition. The abbreviations used by Cessi for the different manuscripts will be followed, though in his edition these are not identified very clearly and it is sometimes difficult to see which version he is reproducing. His division of the text into three separate "editions" is also misleading, since it implies a more regular relationship and progression than in fact exists. What we have are simply varying versions from an apparently substantially larger number of similar collections, put together between the eleventh and the thirteenth century, that have perished. The earliest manuscript is Cod. Vat. Urbinatus 440, the main contents of which are the so-called *Chronicon Gradense* and the autograph of John the Deacon's *Chronicon Venetum*. It is of the first half of the eleventh century, while the others are all of the thirteenth.

The texts which are relevant to Byzantine history are two in number. They have only perfunctory titles or headings in the MSS, such as *Incipit hystoria Romanorum et imperatorum aliter*, which are of no use for purposes of identification. The first, which may be termed a *Series imperatorum*, is a straightforward list of Roman and Byzantine emperors with their lengths of reign. It is the only one that occurs in the eleventh-century MS just referred to, and it is reproduced with continuations in the thirteenth-century MSS. The second text, the *Necrologium imperatorum et catalogus eorum sepulchrorum*, is the list of obits and tombs of the emperors, with occasionally other details regarding their lives and reigns. It occurs only in the thirteenth-century MSS or in later copies of these. The three basic manuscripts are denominated by Cessi V (= Cod. Vat. lat. 5273), D (=Dresden F. 168) and S (= Seminario patriarcale, Venice, H. V. 44). The text of the *Series imperatorum* in V is described by Cessi as V^b and that of the *Necrologium* as V^a, but they are written in the same hand. Linked with them is another MS which Cessi terms V^u (= Cod. Vat. lat. 5269), which contains the *Series imperatorum* with a continuation which in the other three MSS is attached to the *Necrologium*. The two works are found in the following MSS and editions:

Series imperatorum

- a MS. U (s. xi). List of emperors running to the early eleventh century, but owing to the loss of some folios it ends with Probus.

Pertz, p. 38; Monticolo, pp. 180-1; Cessi, pp. 15-17 (*Lectio prima*).

- b MS. V^u (s. xiii). Same text, with minor variants, but running to Alexius I. Then provided with a continuation in another hand to Baldwin II

⁴⁶ The *Chron. Gradense* by Pertz in SS., 7 (1846), 39-45, the *Chron. Altinate* by Simonsfeld, *ibid.*, 14 (1883), 5-69. They are also conveniently available in the edition of G. Monticolo, *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, I (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Rome, 1890).

⁴⁷ See Cessi's ed., p. vii, note 1. The most valuable study is H. Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*. I. *Das Chronicon Altinate* (Munich, 1878).

of Courtenay (1237-61). This continuation is the same as that found in the S version of the *Necrologium*.

(*Text to Alexius I*) Monticolo, pp. 181-4; Cessi, pp. 15-23 (*Lectio altera*), with variants from V^b.

(*Continuation*) See *infra* under MS. S.

c MS. V^b (s. xiii). Same text, with minor variants, but running to John II. Cessi, pp. 15-23 (*Lectio altera*).

Necrologium imperatorum

d MS. V^a (s. xiii). Text in a single hand, ending with Alexius I.

Cessi, pp. 102-114.

e MS. D. (s. xiii). Same text, with a continuation from Manuel I to Henry I (1205-16), all in one hand.

Polidori, pp. 47-56; Cessi, pp. 102-118.

f MS. S. (s. xiii). Same text down to Alexius I, but with a different continuation from Manuel I to Baldwin of Courtenay (1237-61), all in one hand.

Monticoli, pp. 184-7 (continuation only); Cessi, pp. 102-119.

The *Series imperatorum* can be dealt with briefly, since it is less important than the *Necrologium* and not primarily our concern. It is one of a very large number of similar imperial lists which go back to late antiquity and were continued in both east and west, in the east with the series of Byzantine emperors, in the west with kings of the Franks, kings of the Lombards, kings of Germany, emperors, and so on. Their filiations are usually difficult to work out, and only when they contain isolated entries of a local character or groups of regnal datings which seem unusually precise and reliable do they repay detailed study. The *Series imperatorum* in U ran to some date early in the eleventh century, when John the Deacon was working at his chronicle, and was then continued to the reign of Theodora (1055-6), since the form of words for Constantine IX (1042-55) is practically identical in versions V^a and V^b. In both cases, however, there has been a certain amount of rewriting of earlier entries, mainly no doubt in the form of marginal amplifications which have become incorporated into the texts as we have them today. The further continuations to Alexius I and John II are independent of one another and are often inaccurate in detail; they may have been kept up to date sporadically, but it is not impossible that they were written from memory while these particular sovereigns were on the throne. Although it is clear that the annalists knew some Greek words and often spelt names by ear as they had heard them in Greek (e.g. Nikeforus Votoniatus, Michael o Vriucas for ὁ Βριγγας), there are no grounds for supposing that these lists are anything but Venetian in origin or had Greek prototypes behind them.

This is not the case for the *Necrologium*, where the background is entirely different. The *Series imperatorum*, in the form in which we have it, dates from the eleventh century and was committed to writing in Venice by a chronicler working on the history of the city. The *Necrologium imperatorum* is essentially

Greek. Though in its earliest form it must have been put together in the mid-tenth century and was then continued at Constantinople for over a hundred years, the Greek version ended during the reign of Alexius I, apparently with the notice of the First Crusade. Subsequently, during the period of the Latin Empire, it was found and translated, different copies being provided with different continuations, in one case down to the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the other for half a century longer. It was these thirteenth-century copies that found their way to Venice and were incorporated into the so-called *Chronicon Altinate*.

The text of the *Necrologium* falls into five distinct sections:

- I. *a* Julius Caesar (48-44 B.C.) to Diocletian (284-305).
b Julius Caesar to Constantius Chlorus (305-6).
- II. Constantine I (306-37) to Romanus II (959-63).
- III. Basil II (963-1025) to Constantine IX (1042-55).
- IV. Theodora (1055-6) to Alexius I (1081-1118).
- V. *a* Manuel I (1143-80) to Henry I (1206-16).
b Manuel I to Baldwin II of Courtenay (1237-61).

They are distinguished from each other by the nature of their information and the way in which it is set out. Sections II and III are by far the most important and are those with which we shall be mainly concerned.

Section I is a list of emperors and regnal years of the ordinary type, the length of reign being sometimes rounded off to the nearest year but in others giving months and days as well. Cessi treats the two versions, which can be conveniently described as I *a*, represented by MSS V^a and D, and I *b*, represented by MS S, as if they were merely variants of the same text, but, quite apart from the fact that one passes straight from Diocletian to Constantine while the other inserts a notice of Constantius Chlorus, there are too many discrepancies between them⁴⁸ for this to be possible. Version I *b* accords very closely with the *Series imperatorum* already discussed; version I *a* is independent, but very similar in character. Although there are many Greek counterparts to such texts,⁴⁹ it is not clear that either of them made up part of the original Greek text containing Sections II and III; they were probably added, by way of completing them, when these were rendered into Latin. Since the essential features of Sections II and III are the lists of tombs and obits, a work containing these could not have started earlier than Constantine the Great.

Section II, like Section I, gives the length of reign of each emperor, but it gives in addition (1) his obit or the day of his deposition, (2) his place of burial, and (3) the nature of his tomb; it often gives also (4) some account of the circumstances of his death or deposition, (5) the name of his wife,⁵⁰ sometimes

⁴⁸ E.g. V^a and D give Julius Caesar a reign of 4 yrs. 6 mos., S gives him 3 yrs. 7 mos.; V^a and D give Trajan's reign as 19 yrs. 6 mos. 15 days, S as 20 yrs. 11 mos. 15 days. These divergences are too great to be miscopyings of the same source.

⁴⁹ E.g. that incorporated in the *Chronographia* of Nicephorus, another printed by de Boor in his edition of Nicephorus, p. 222 ff., etc.

⁵⁰ As early as the ninth century, in the so-called *Chronographia* of Nicephorus (ed. de Boor, pp. 104-6), we find a list of empresses.

coupled with a statement as to whether she was buried with her husband or separately, and (6) any other striking particulars of the reign that may have occurred to the writer. The essential features, however, are the obit or date of deposition and the place and nature of the tomb. Apart from the first three entries (Constantine I, Constantius II, Julian), which start with the emperor's name, the regular formula in MSS V^a and D begins with the date—e.g. *Mense ianuarii, septima die, defunctus est Theodosius Magnus imperator*—but in S the order is reversed, so that the emperor's name precedes the date.⁵¹ Essentially all versions have the same text, differing only in the spelling of words and omissions or interpolations of isolated phrases. The last of the consecutive series of entries beginning with the formula *mense ... die ... defunctus est ... imperator* is that recording the death of Romanus II (959–63), and it is reasonable to conclude that the nucleus of the *Necrologium* was set down either in his reign, with the notice of his death and burial inserted when these occurred, or early in that of Nicephorus Phocas.

Section III runs from Basil II to Michael V, the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisce being noted but treated as part of that of Basil II and his brother Constantine VIII, as in constitutional theory they indeed were. The entry covering the years 963 to 1025 was evidently made shortly after the latter date and the additional information it gives—*Cretenses sub suo imperio misit; Barim, Calabriam subiugavit; Antiochiam Thyrium ac Syriam multasque alias civitates subiugavit; multaeque victoriae suo tempore a Deo sibi concesse fuerunt*—and the phrases it uses—*cum prospera migravit ad Dominum*⁵²—disclose the writer's admiration for the great Emperor. For Constantine VIII (1025–8),¹ Romanus III (1028–34), and Michael IV (1034–41) there is a return to the old *mense ... die ... defunctus est* formula, the entries probably being made immediately after the death of each emperor, but with Michael V (1041–2) it is modified into an account of his misdeeds and his overthrow. The whole entry for the events of 1042 was evidently written while Constantine IX, *virtute ac nobilitate cum omni decoritate vultus et sapientia* (sic) was on the throne, the final note on his death and burial being added after 1055.

Section IV, the continuation from Theodora to Alexius I, marks a further change in the character of the entries. The list of emperors is complete and the lengths of their reigns are given, but the obits are omitted; the only date included is that of the accession of Alexius *in mense marcii*. The interest in tombs is maintained; we are told where Romanus IV, Michael VII, and Nicephorus III were buried. The section ends with an account of the successes of the Crusaders in capturing Antioch, Tarsus, Mamistra (*Manifesta*), Adana, Laodicea—the emphasis is perhaps less on the exploits of Bohemund and Tancred than on border cities familiar to the Byzantines which had only recently been lost—Jerusalem, and Jaffa. The three MSS all mention Alexius' association of his son with him as emperor, which took place in 1092, but D

⁵¹ Cessi, p. 104, note *aa*, modified by note *h* on p. 105.

⁵² Sic! The Latin throughout is very ungrammatical, partly because it seems sometimes to be a literal rendering from the Greek without much attention to the resulting sense.

and S both leave a blank for the years of their joint reign and for the length of Alexius' reign as sole ruler;⁵³ only V^a includes a statement that his reign previous to the coronation of John lasted 20 years and his total reign was one of 42 years 10 months. Both figures are so incorrect—they should be 11 years and 37 years 4 months respectively—that they probably represent a substantially later addition.

Section V is found only in D and S, the continuations being independent of one another, though both have in varying degrees endeavored to keep up the interest of the preceding sections in circumstances of death and burial. There are good grounds for supposing that these continuations were written at Constantinople and not at Venice, and mainly, if not entirely, as single units; they do not represent accumulations of separate entries made from time to time. Only if the continuations were written at Constantinople can one explain the number of local details that would not have been available elsewhere: the burial of Manuel II in a marble sarcophagus in the church of the Pantocrator,⁵⁴ that of Andronicus I, after being tortured to death in the streets (*in eupodromio*, i.e. in the Hippodrome), in the monastery of Emphoros,⁵⁵ that of Isaac II in the monastery of Pantanassa,⁵⁶ and so on. The composition of both continuations as single units at comparatively late dates would account for the number of regnal years which have been left blank and never filled in, and would also explain why they both ignore John II Comnenus, who died on 8 April 1143 of a wound received from a poisoned arrow while out hunting,⁵⁷ and begin with Manuel I, for this ruler's death in 1180 would have occurred not so long before the continuations were written.

The important sections of the *Necrologium*, apart from isolated details in the final continuations, are nos. II and III, and the evaluation of their contents is

⁵³ One might expect the sentence *regnauit solus ann . . .* to have been completed after the association of John II on the throne had been recorded, but a writer in the opening years of the twelfth century could not know whether John would survive his father, and whether, if he died before him, Alexius' sole reign would be resumed.

⁵⁴ Manuel died on 24 September 1180 and was buried in the Pantocrator, in a tomb of which we have a partial description (Nicetas Choniates, pp. 289–90, 332–3; cf. Mango, *art. cit.* [*supra*, note 3], p. 398f.). By it was placed a slab of red marble which had been brought from Ephesus earlier in the reign and was reputed to be that on which Christ had been laid after the descent from the cross. Cf. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 530–1.

⁵⁵ Andronicus I was put to death on 12 September 1185. His body was abandoned by the monastery of Emphoros (or Ephoros), close to the Baths of Zeuxippus, where it was ignominiously buried, his successor refusing to permit his interment in the church of the Forty Martyrs which he had intended should be his family mausoleum (Nicetas Choniates, pp. 460–1; cf. Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–9, 499; the spelling *Emphoro* in the *Necrologium* resolves the doubt as to whether the monastery was identical with that in which a Ducas princess was buried).

⁵⁶ Isaac II died of shock a few days after the usurpation of Alexius V Murzuphlus on 28 Jan. 1204, apparently just before the murder of his son Alexius IV, which most sources ascribe to January but which—if his stated reign of 6 years 8 days is to be taken literally—took place on 8 February (Nicetas Choniates, pp. 743–4, 747; on Isaac's death, see Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, chap. 223; ed. E. Faral, 2 (Paris, 1939), 23 and note 1). Isaac's burial at the Pantanassa is mentioned, so far as I know, by no Byzantine author, but is inherently probable, since he completed its foundation and we hear of it in connection with his uncle, the logothete Theodore Castamonites, and his daughter (Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 225). Murzuphlus feigned grief at the death of Alexius IV "et le fit ensepeillir com empereor honorablement et metre en terre" (Villehardouin, *loc. cit.*), presumably at the Pantanassa, but we are not so told.

⁵⁷ Cf. R. Browning, "The Death of John II Comnenus," *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 229–35, where it is argued that his death was not wholly accidental.

not altogether an easy matter. Account has to be taken of the fact that they are not in their original language, and that they are not uniform in origin and presentation. While Section III must be accorded a high degree of authority, since in its original form it dates from the period which it is recording and its authors are likely to have taken pains to ensure the accuracy of the details they relate, Section II is a learned compilation which must be associated with the movement of historical research that characterized the later years of the reign of Constantine VII and was largely stimulated by the antiquarian interests of the Emperor himself. Its reliability will therefore depend upon the nature of the sources available and the care with which these were used.

These sources can be divided into four groups: (1) narrative historical works, (2) a *Series imperatorum* giving the names and order of the emperors and the lengths of their reigns, (3) a *Catalogus sepulchrorum* analogous to those described earlier, and (4) a calendar of obits and similar anniversaries.

The first three of these raise no particular difficulties. The details given regarding the reigns and in particular regarding the downfall of many emperors—the overthrow of Maurice by Phocas and his beheading near the Eutropean harbor, the fact that the deposed Theodosius III became a cleric at Ephesus and that miracles were worked at his tomb, the exile of the Empress Irene to Lesbos and the transport of her remains to Prinkipo for burial—are not such as one could expect to find in any mere list of rulers and must have come from narrative sources. In their very nature, however, and more especially in their greatly abbreviated form, they do not allow us to determine precisely which authority the compiler of the *Necrologium* was using at any particular moment, but it can be said with confidence that no single historical writer, or even single series of historical writings, supplied all the material; they do not occur together in any single source that now survives or whose existence can reasonably be presumed. The general impression given by them is that they formed part of a general corpus of historical knowledge which, however unfamiliar it may be to us, could have been drawn upon from memory by a scholar in the tenth century, for one cannot suppose that such a person would have read right through the writings of Theophanes or the Logothete simply to pick out one or two striking episodes for each reign.

The *Series imperatorum* and the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* must, on the other hand, have been specific written sources. The first was one of the large class of such writings which have been alluded to already, and it would be unprofitable to try and work out its specific affiliations. The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* was obviously related to those compiled at the behest of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the manuscripts containing the *Necrologium* can thus be regarded as providing a further series of variants to version L in the *Book of Ceremonies* and versions C and R in the expanded version of the *Patria*. There are a few discrepancies between the texts, and one error in particular shows that the version used by the compiler of the *Necrologium* must have been closer to C than to the fuller and more reliable text of L. Texts L and R record, quite correctly, the

burial of Theodosius the Great in a porphyry tomb in the mausoleum of Constantine. In text C, however, by a slip, the Theodosius in question is described as Theodosius II (ὁ μικρός), the sarcophagus being still porphyry. In text L the next three entries are Leo I in a tomb of green Hieracites, Marcian in one of porphyry, and Zeno in one of green Thessalian marble; in text C Leo and Marcian are omitted, so that the next entry is Zeno in a green marble tomb; in text R Leo is omitted and the next entry is Marcian in a porphyry tomb. The *Necrologium* contains the same error as C about the identity of Theodosius; so a similar text must have been used for it, but it incorrectly describes the tomb as one of green Thessalian marble; this implies the use of a text which had as its next entry one referring to an emperor buried in a tomb of this material, for the mistake is most easily explained on the presumption that the copyist's eye passed inadvertently from one entry to the next. Such a text cannot have been identical with C, since the tombs of Leo and Marcian which this omits are duly included in the *Necrologium*.

The use of a calendar or calendars of obits and other anniversaries is the most debatable of the sources of the *Necrologium*, for no precisely comparable list is known to exist. In the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople there are isolated allusions to unusual events—fires, earthquakes, barbarian raids, ashes falling from heaven—which mix oddly with the normal sequence of ecclesiastical festivals, but liturgical commemorations of emperors and princes play a very minor role.⁵⁸ They do however occur—it is such an entry in the *Synaxarion* that has preserved the obit of Constantine, eldest son of Basil I⁵⁹—and it is reasonable to suppose that at the church of the Holy Apostles and in other churches where emperors were buried there would have been preserved the obits of those who merited commemoration in the prayers of the faithful. There are indeed certain demonstrable errors in the *Necrologium* which can be accounted for only on the assumption that they go back to documents in which the name of the ruler was accompanied by a date alone, without further explanation. The day of Valentinian I's death is given as 21 March, whereas it was actually 17 November; 21 February or 21 March—a mistake resulting from its expression in terms of kalends—was really that of his funeral. The day of Theodosius II's death is also given as 30 July, whereas it should be 28 July; once again the date is that of the funeral. The day of Constantine VI's deposition is given as 10 November, whereas it should be 19 August; 10 November was actually the date on which he carried out a coup d'état and removed his mother from power in 790. Such errors would not easily have arisen if the compiler of the *Necrologium* was here relying on narrative sources, for there they would have been adequately explained. In any case there is no narrative source which contains even a substantial proportion of the dates in question, while some are not found at all in any existing source. The very form of the entries in the *Necrologium*, each with the obit followed by the name of the emperor, is itself such as to

⁵⁸ Cf. H. Delehay, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (in *Acta Sanctorum, Propylaeum Novembris* [Brussels, 1902]), lxxv. The various types of such works are explained in cols. iii-v.

⁵⁹ *Infra*, note 87.

suggest the use of a "calendar" source, and if such a view be accepted it greatly enhances the authority to be attached to the work as a whole.

The reliability of the information given by the *Necrologium* is discussed in detail in the Appendix, but a general picture can be obtained from the accompanying Table I, which sets out the dates of deaths or depositions given by the *Necrologium* and those which are given by or can be inferred from other existing sources. The correspondence is remarkably close, and in some cases there are good reasons for believing that the date given by the *Necrologium* is correct and that the error lies not in it but in the other source. Some of the smaller discrepancies are those which occur inevitably in written records. If an emperor died during the night of June 5/6, some chroniclers would have placed the event on the 5th and others on the 6th, while those some distance away, to whom the date might have been reported incorrectly, could have written the 3rd or the 7th. There are, however, a few serious mistakes, some of which are easily explicable (e.g. Valentinian I, Constantine VI), while others are not (e.g. Michael I, Theophilus). They are discussed more fully in their proper place.

TABLE I
Comparative List of Obits or Dates of Deposition

	<i>Necrologium</i>	<i>Other Source(s)</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Constantine I (306-37)	20 May	22 May	22 May correct
Constantius II (337-61)	3 Nov.	3 Nov.	
Julian (360-63)	26 June	26 June	
Jovian (363-64)	17 Feb.	17 Feb.	
Valens (364-78)	9 Aug.	9 Aug.	
Valentinian I (364-75)	21 March	17 Nov.	21 Feb. date of funeral
Theodosius I (379-95)	7 Jan.	17 Jan.	17 Jan. correct
Arcadius (395-408)	1 May	1 May	
Theodosius II (408-50)	30 July	28 July	30 July date of funeral
Marcian (450-57)	27 Jan.	26 Jan./7 Feb.	
Leo I (457-74)	30 or 31 Jan.	contradictory	30 Jan. probably correct
Zeno (474-91)	9 April	9 April	
Anastasius I (491-518)	8 July	8 July	
Justin I (518-27)	5 Aug.	1 Aug.	1 Aug. correct
Justinian I (527-65)	3 Nov.	14 Nov.	14 Nov. correct
Justin II (565-78)	5 Oct.	5 Oct.	
Tiberius II (578-82)	12 Aug.	14 Aug.	14 Aug. correct
Maurice (582-602)	25 Nov.	25 Nov.	
Phocas (602-10)	1 Oct.	5 Oct.	5 Oct. correct
Heraclius (610-41)	11 Jan.	(11 Feb.)	11 Jan. probably correct
Heraclius Constantine (641)	20 April	(25 May)	20 April probably correct
Constans II (641-68)	5 Nov.	15 July	5 Nov. probably accession of C.IV.
Constantine IV (668-85)	10 July	-	
Justinian II (685-95, 705-11)	24 Nov.	4 Nov.	4 Nov. probably correct
Leontius (695-98)	15 Feb.	-	
Tiberius Apsimar (698-705)	21 Aug.	summer	
Philippicus (711-14)	20 Jan.	-	
Anastasius II (714-15)	1 June	-	
Theodosius III (715-16)	24 July	(25 March)	24 July possibly correct
Leo III (716-41)	18 July	18 June	18 June correct
Constantine V (741-75)	14 Sept.	14 Sept.	
Leo IV (775-80)	8 Sept.	8 Sept.	

	<i>Necrologium</i>	<i>Other Source(s)</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Constantine VI (780-97)	10 Nov.	19 Aug.	10 Nov. coup d'état of 790.
Irene (797-802)	30 Oct.	30 Oct.	
Nicephorus I (802-11)	25 July	25 July	
Stauracius (811)	20 Oct.	2 Oct.	2 Oct. correct
Michael I (811-13)	8 Oct.	11 July	11 July correct
Leo V (813-20)	25 Dec.	25 Dec.	
Michael II (820-29)	2 Oct.	early Oct.	2 Oct. correct
Theophilus (829-42)	22 Oct.	20 Jan.	20 Jan. correct
Michael III (842-67)	24 Sept.	24 Sept.	
Basil I (867-86)	19 Aug.	29 Aug.	29 Aug. correct
Leo VI (886-912)	-	11 May	
Alexander (912-13)	6 June	6 June	
Constantine VII (913-59)	19 Nov.	9 Nov.	19 Nov. correct
Romanus II (959-63)	15 March	15 March	
Basil II (963-1025)	13 Dec.	15 Dec.	15 Dec. correct
Constantine VIII (1025-28)	Nov.	9 Nov.	
Romanus III (1028-34)	11 April	11 April	
Michael IV (1034-41)	13 Nov.	10 Dec.	10 Dec. correct
Michael V (1041-42)	(20 April)	21 April	

An acceptance of the general reliability of the original Greek version of the *Necrologium* does not of course imply that the existing Latin text is free from errors. One common category of such errors, however, seems to occur only

TABLE II
Variants in the obits and lengths of reigns

	Va	D	S
Constantine I	33 yrs.	33 yrs.	-
Julian	4 yrs. 2 mos.	4 yrs. 2 mos.	2 yrs. 2 mos.
Jovian	1 yr. 8 mos.	1 yr. 8 mos.	8 mos.
Valentinian I	21 March	21 March	1 March
Leo I	<i>die ultimo</i> Jan.	30 Jan.	-
Justin II	13 yrs.	13 yrs.	11 yrs.
Tiberius II	20 yrs.	20 yrs.	7 yrs.
Philippicus	2 yrs.	2 yrs.	1½ yrs.
Leo III	23 yrs.	23 yrs.	22 yrs.
Basil II	49 yrs.	49 yrs.	48 yrs.

rarely. Table II, giving the only variations in numerals between the various MSS in Sections II and III, shows that there were relatively few mistakes in the figures, and that these result from omissions or miscalculations that can easily be put right. Possible faults in the transliteration of numerals from Greek to Latin are more difficult to allow for, since Greek numerals were notoriously liable to miscopying,⁶⁰ but the comparative table of obits shows a high level of accuracy.

In other respects, however, the Greek text gave translator and transcribers alike a great deal of trouble, and eccentricities and misreadings of all kinds have occurred where proper names and unfamiliar words were concerned.

⁶⁰ Two figures easily miscopied were apparently those for 1 (α') and 5 (ε'), as in the obits of Justin I and Phocas and in the length of reign ascribed to Irene.

Λάρναξ by metathesis has become *lanarki*⁶¹ (Cessi, p. 105, line 8) and Verina, the wife of Leo I, *Veneria* (p. 106, line 5); the church of St. Mamas is rendered as *Sancti martyris Minantis* (p. 107, line 15), Gregoria as *Glygoria* (p. 107, note cc, wrongly amended in text); the slaying of Nicephorus I by the Khan Krum became *a Trunio* or *ac runio* (p. 110, line 4).⁶² Contamination from spoken Greek is shown by such spellings as *efdomo* (for Hebdomon), *Efdokya*, and *Vutaniats*. The translator has often misunderstood the context in which the original text gave the name of the wife of each emperor—whether she predeceased or survived him and whether or not she was buried in the same tomb—and has sometimes inserted her name at most inapposite points in the entry; usually she is made to share his regnal years, but Constantine V, in addition to burning icons and relics, is credited with burning his three wives as well. Such errors, however, are few in number compared with the positive merits of the document, and in its lists of both tombs and obits the *Necrologium* represents an important and in the main a reliable source of Byzantine history.

III

While the main interest of the *Necrologium* lies in its obits, its list of tombs provides some significant divergences from those given in the various versions of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. The latter were evidently intended to include full lists of the contents of the mausolea of Constantine and Justinian and the two “stoas.” An analysis of these throws much light on the way in which the mausolea were used, and when supplemented by information from other literary sources allows one to establish the whereabouts of some of the more important tombs.

The major distinction in the grouping of the tombs lies in their distribution between the two mausolea. That of Constantine was used fairly continuously at two widely separated intervals of time, from the reign of Constantius II († 361) to the death of Anastasius I (518), and again from Michael III († 867) to Constantine VIII († 1028); that of Justinian was used in the intervening period, from Justinian I himself († 565) to Theophilus († 842). Within each series further breakdowns are possible. The three principal tombs in the mausoleum of Constantine were those of Constantine himself, Constantius II, and Theodosius I, a grouping which is intelligible in view of the eminence of the persons concerned but not altogether natural, since there is a notable gap between Constantius II and Theodosius I. The use of the mausoleum was then discontinued, Arcadius, Eudoxia, and Theodosius II being buried elsewhere in the precincts of the church. In the second half of the fifth century the building

⁶¹ This is only one of several Greek words which have been left untranslated. There is also *lipsana*, i.e. λεῖψανα (p. 109, line 20), and πράσινος, in describing the green color of Thessalian marble, is left as *expusio lapide* (p. 106, line 4) or *prassino* (p. 109, line 3). Nicknames are not usually translated (e.g. Anastasius Dicoros), but Justinian II becomes *Nasu trunco*.

⁶² Some of these probably occurred in the copying from one Latin version to the other. This is certainly true in two instances where *d* was read as *ol* or *oi*; on p. 107, line 1 a reference to Hierapolitan stone has become *Ierapditis*, and on p. 106, line 14, Anastasius I's nickname Δίκροπος, given him because his eyes differed in color, which is correctly rendered in S as *Dicoros*, becomes *o Icoros* in V^a and D.

was brought back into use and received in succession the tombs of Pulcheria and Marcian († 457), Leo I († 474) and Verina, Zeno († 491), and Ariadne and Anastasius I († 518). It was then again abandoned, not to be re-employed till the reign of Basil I (867–86), when it became the mausoleum of the Macedonian dynasty and remained in use till 1028. As for the mausoleum of Justinian, it had three fairly short periods of disuse: (1) between the death of Justin II in 578 and that of his widow Sophia († *post* 601); (2) between the death of Eudocia, first wife of Justinian II, in or before 695 and that of the ex-Emperor Anastasius II in 720;⁶³ and (3) between the death of Leo IV in 780 and that of Michael II in 829. Each of these latter gaps largely coincides with a rapid series of palace revolutions, so that the misfortunes of individual emperors rather than deliberate policy explains their failure to use the mausoleum.

A consideration of these groupings of tombs shows that the Byzantines were repeatedly faced with the same problem that puzzled the youthful Goethe when he saw only one vacant space remaining for an imperial portrait in the Kaisersaal at Frankfurt. What would happen when the room was full? For the Byzantines there was no Napoleon to save the situation by winding up the empire, and Constantine's successors had either to provide accommodation elsewhere or to decide from time to time that the room was not as full as they had thought. "Fullness" is a relative term, and while the taste of a near-classical age might still require a symmetrical grouping of sarcophagi spaced widely apart, the Byzantine world would tolerate a crowding of tombs which must in the end have been as disfiguring as those of many Gothic and Baroque churches today. The straits in which the emperors found themselves, before they finally abandoned the two mausolea, can be seen from the fact that the word *λαρνάκιον* instead of *λάβραξ* is applied in list L to the two last sarcophagi in each building—those in the mausoleum of Constantine being specifically described as "small"—and that no space could be found around the walls for the tomb of Constantine VIII, the last occupant of the mausoleum of Constantine, so that it had to be placed in the center of the building.

With these considerations in mind we can study in more detail the layout of the mausolea and the two "stoas."

a. The Mausoleum of Constantine

The total number of tombs in this mausoleum was twenty, and they may be set out as follows:

<i>Stage A</i>	<i>Stage B</i>
I. Constantine I, with Helena (and Fausta ?)	IV. Marcian, with Pulcheria
II. Constantius II, with Severa	V. Leo I, with Verina
III. Theodosius I, with Flaccilla (and Galla ?)	VI. Zeno (with Leo II ?)
	VII. Anastasius I, with Ariadne

⁶³ The Empress Anastasia, widow of Constantine IV, was buried in the mausoleum during this period, but in the same tomb as her husband, not separately.

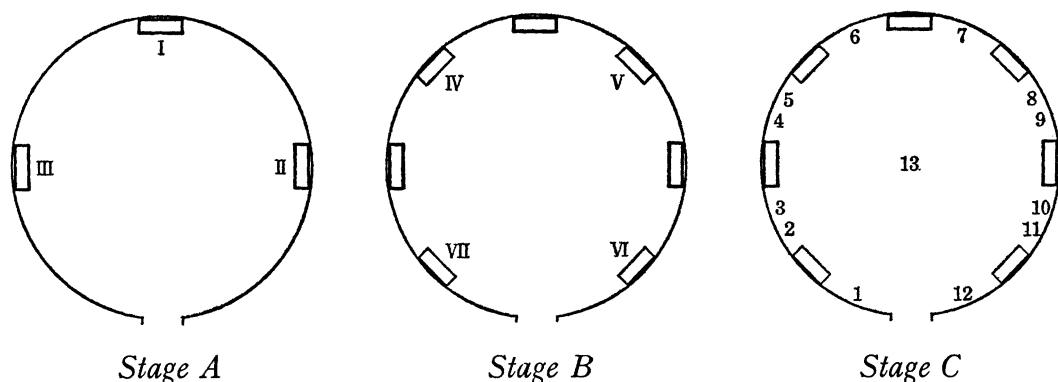
Stage C

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Michael III | 7. Eudocia, third wife of Leo VI |
| 2. Basil I, with Eudocia and Alexander | 8. Two Annas, daughters of Leo VI |
| 3. Leo VI, with Constantine VII | 9. Basil, son of Leo VI, and Bardas, son of Basil I |
| 4. Constantine, son of Basil I | 10. Romanus II |
| 5. Theophano, first wife of Leo VI, with her daughter Eudocia | 11. Nicephorus Phocas |
| 6. Zoe, second wife of Leo VI | 12. Theophano, wife of Romanus II |
| | 13. Constantine VIII |

Our main authority for the names is L. There are serious gaps in C and R, but they have the merit of providing information regarding the last few burials, which took place after L was drawn up. The *Necrologium* confirms the last burials but is otherwise less valuable than L, since it is concerned only with the tombs of the emperors and not with those of their families. The list of tombs in *Stages A* and *B* is virtually identical in all the sources, but there are divergences over the last entries in *Stage C* that affect our estimate of the total number which the mausoleum eventually contained. List L, inserted in the *Book of Ceremonies* during the reign of Romanus II, records the fact that Constantine VII was buried with Leo VI—this is confirmed by Cedrenus⁶⁴—and lists one unused sepulchre (“Another small *larnakion* of Sagarian stone, in which lies . . .”) presumably intended for himself. Such a tomb is not listed, or at least is not identifiable, in lists C and R, and the *Necrologium* states that Romanus II was buried in a tomb of white stone, without decoration, which his father Constantine had caused to be made (*in pila alba sine sculptura quam pater ipsius, Constantinus, fieri precepit*). Sagarian was a variegated marble, not white, and it is difficult to see how the two could have been confused. It is equally difficult to see why, if such a tomb of white stone had stood in the mausoleum when C was compiled—as it should have done if it had been made at the orders of Constantine VII—it should not have been mentioned. There seems no way of resolving the contradiction, unless we assume a transfer of sarcophagi between the mausoleum of Constantine and some other part of the church. At all events, the total of sarcophagi added during *Stage C* seems to work out at thirteen, twelve of these being round the walls and one in the center of the building.

The phases in the development of the Mausoleum can be illustrated in three diagrams, it being understood that these are purely schematic. The relative position of the tombs in *Stage A* is known with certainty, but the numbering of the remaining tombs in the diagrams is intended only to indicate how a certain number of sarcophagi could have been fitted into the space available to receive them. It carries with it no implication that the numbering in the lists and the diagrams correspond to one another.

⁶⁴ Bonn ed., ii.338. Concerning the possibility that he was later reburied in a separate tomb, see *infra*, p. 58.



Schematic Plan of the Mausoleum of Constantine

Stage A

Only three tombs⁶⁵ are attested in this stage, and their positions are exactly described by Mesarites: (I) Constantine the Great, at the east side of the mausoleum, facing the entrance; (II) Constantius II, to the south; and (III) Theodosius the Great, to the north. This layout is explicable and symmetrical, and once it was completed it is intelligible that Arcadius and Theodosius II should have thought of being buried elsewhere. The only anomaly requiring explanation is the presence of Theodosius I, for one would expect the place of his tomb to have been already filled by that of some preceding emperor.

Three emperors who ruled between Constantius II and Theodosius I were buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles: Julian († 363), Jovian († 364), and Valentinian I († 375), but they were not buried there in that order. Julian had been buried first at Tarsus, and his remains were transferred to Constantinople only after 390.⁶⁶ Jovian died at Dadastana, but his body was immediately embalmed and brought to Constantinople *ut inter Augustorum reliquias conderetur*.⁶⁷ Valentinian I died in Gaul, but his body was also embalmed and sent to Constantinople *ut ... inter divorum reliquias humaretur*.⁶⁸ Three other emperors died during the same period but were not buried at Constantinople. Valens, the only one of the three who had ruled in the east, perished in or after the battle of Adrianople (378) and his body was never found.⁶⁹ Gratian was murdered at Lyons (25 August 383), and St. Ambrose in 387 was still trying to obtain possession of his ashes to bury them suitably at Milan.⁷⁰ In the end the Saint was successful, for after the murder of Valentinian II in Gaul (15 May)

⁶⁵ The *Vita Constantini*, as has been seen *supra* (p. 5), speaks of twelve θήκας ὡσαύτει στήλας ἱερὰς, plus the tomb of Constantine, and Heisenberg (*Die Apostelkirche zu Konstantinopel*, 106, 116) takes this as implying an original arrangement of twelve actual sarcophagi. What these θήκαι may have been, assuming that they are not pure invention, is not clear, but the phrasing in the use of the mausoleum shows that they cannot have been tombs intended for the reception of actual bodies.

⁶⁶ *Infra*, p. 40.

⁶⁷ *Amm. Marc.*, xxvi. 1.3.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, xxx. 10. 1.

⁶⁹ *Infra*, p. 42.

⁷⁰ Ambrose, *Epist.* 24, in Migne, PL, 16, col. 1038.

he had the melancholy satisfaction of bringing father and son together in the same tomb at Milan.⁷¹

When Jovian died in 364 only two emperors, Constantine the Great and Constantius II, had been buried at Constantinople, both of them in the mausoleum of Constantine, and it seems clear that it was this mausoleum which was envisaged when Jovian's body was brought to the capital *ut inter Augustorum reliquias conderetur*. His tomb would therefore have occupied the third place in this mausoleum. Whether it was possible to use for him one already prepared and in place, or whether his widow or his successor was left with the task of providing one for him, must remain a matter of conjecture. If one was already there, it must have been prepared by Constantius II for either his wife or the son for whose birth he hoped.⁷² Jovian's own reign was too short for him to have made the necessary arrangements himself, more especially since he was never in the capital after his accession.

The difficulty really arises from our uncertainty as to how Constantius II himself envisaged the mausoleum. On the one hand he seems to have raised no objection to two of his sisters being buried elsewhere. Constantia (Constantina), who was wife successively to Hannibalian and the Caesar Gallus, died in Bithynia in 354, and her body was transported from Asia Minor to Rome to be buried in a mausoleum which had been constructed in the grounds of a villa belonging to the family close to the Via Nomentana.⁷³ Helena, wife of Julian, who died at Vienne, was buried beside her sister six years later.⁷⁴ Julian was obviously in a position to decide for himself where his wife should be buried, but Constantius' failure to take any action over Constantia in 354 suggests that the "family" aspect of the building did not bulk very large in his eyes. On the other hand, he seems to have made no attempt to secure the bodies of his brothers, Constantine II († 340) and Constans I († 350),⁷⁵ who both as emperors

⁷¹ Ambrose, *De obitu Valentimiani consolatio*, chap. 79 (Migne, PL, 16, cols. 1382-3): *O omnibus Gratiane et Valentiniane speciosi et carissimi. Inseparabiles in vita, et in morte non estis separati. Non vos discrevit tumulus, quos non discernebat affectus*. Delbrueck (*Antike Porphyrwerke*, p. 220) suggests that a porphyry sarcophagus which is still in the church of San Ambrogio may have been that of Gratian. Later Byzantine tradition gave Theodosius I the credit of having ensured for Gratian an imperial tomb (Leo Grammaticus, p. 100). The phrase used by Leo would seem to imply that this was in the Holy Apostles, but Gratian's burial there is not even hinted at by any other writer and is explicitly contradicted by the statement of Ambrose just quoted.

⁷² Delbrueck (*Antike Porphyrwerke*, p. 222) suggested that the mausoleum originally held four tombs, one for Constantine and one for each of his three sons, and that those used by Theodosius I and Marcian had been originally intended for Constantine II and Constans. This would not explain, however, why they had not been used earlier.

⁷³ Amm. Marc., xiv. 11. 6; xxi. 1. 5. This building is the modern church (*rotonda*) of Santa Costanza. One of the porphyry sarcophagi in the Vatican (Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, p. 219; cf. E. Sjöquist and A. Westholm, "Zur Zeitbestimmung der Helena- und Constantinsarkophage," *Opuscula archaeologica*, 1 [1935], 9ff., though there an attempt is made to distinguish between the widow of Gallus and the St. Costanza of the ecclesiastical writers) was brought there in the eighteenth century, and presumably belonged originally to either Constantia or Helena. For the varying accounts of the circumstances of the erection of the church, see H. Stern, "Les mosaïques de l'église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12 (1958), 160-66.

⁷⁴ Amm. Marc., xxi. 1. 5.

⁷⁵ In the case of Constantine II, it is true, there was probably nothing to be done, for he was killed near Aquileia in April 340 while attacking his brother Constans; his body was thrown into the River Alsa (Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, 41. 21; ed. F. Pichlmayr [Leipzig, 1911], p. 168) and apparently was never found. Constans was killed in the Pyrenees towards the end of January 350 after the revolt of Magnentius at Autun (18 January), and nothing is known of the circumstances of his burial.

and as sons of Constantine the Great would have been obviously suitable candidates for interment beside their father. The probability is that the future functions of the building had not yet been clearly thought out—there was, after all, no single imperial mausoleum at Rome—and that they developed only with the passage of time.

It was in fact left to Valens and Theodosius I to develop the idea that the church of the Holy Apostles, which was completed and dedicated in 370, should be regarded as an adjunct of the mausoleum and accommodate the tombs of future emperors and their families. The body of Valentinian I was sent to Constantinople after his death in 375, whether or not by previous arrangement we do not know. There was no sarcophagus ready for it, and it was not until 21 February 382 that this was prepared and Theodosius was able to give his predecessor an appropriate funeral.⁷⁶ We hear nothing of any sarcophagus of Valens; possibly one was ordered only at the same time as that of Valentinian, and so was not finished when Valens himself perished in 378. But it is perhaps significant that when the body of Constantia, apparently the daughter of Constantius II and first wife of Gratian, was brought to Constantinople in 383, it could arrive on 12 September and be solemnly interred on 1 December;⁷⁷ there was evidently some sarcophagus available which could receive it, and it may be that this was the one that Valens intended for himself. The next burial must have been that of Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius I, who died in 386 and was placed in the sarcophagus intended ultimately for Theodosius himself.⁷⁸ The only further interments before 395⁷⁹ were the bodies of Julian and his wife Helena, if I am right in placing these prior to the death of Theodosius himself.⁸⁰ Finally, there was the funeral of Theodosius, which took place on 9 November 395 after his corpse had been brought back from Milan.⁸¹

Theodosius was placed in the mausoleum of Constantine, and it seems to me likely that this was done at the expense of Jovian's tomb, which, in antici-

⁷⁶ It is perhaps strange that Theodosius should have decided at precisely this time (30 July 381) to forbid, in strictest terms, the burial within the city boundaries of bodies in urns or sarcophagi above ground, their exclusion from churches which served as the resting places of apostles and martyrs being specifically mentioned (*Cod. Theod.*, 9. 17. 6). The emperor and his household, however, would obviously have been exempt from the operation of such a provision—the sanction was a fine of a third of the offender's patrimony—and one wonders if the law was not simply intended to clear the church of the Holy Apostles of unwanted tombs. Only the prohibition of burial in the shrines of apostles and martyrs was taken over into the *Cod. Just.*, 1. 2. 2, and it is difficult to believe that it was ever seriously enforced. Isolated tombs in the country were in constant danger from pillagers, as the whole section of *Cod. Theod.*, 9. 17 clearly shows.

⁷⁷ *Cons. Constant. and Chron. Paschale*, a. 383 (in *Chron. min.*, i. 244) correcting the date of arrival (1 September) as given by the *Chronicon Paschale*. The general view is that the lady here referred to, despite her being described as the daughter of *Constantine*, was the wife of Gratian and so a posthumous daughter of Constantius II (Amm. Marc., xxi. 15. 6; xxix. 6. 7). The alternative, which would avoid crediting these sources with a confusion—admittedly a common one—between the names of Constantine I and Constantius II, would be to assume that she was in fact the Constantia, widow of Gallus, buried at Santa Costanza at Rome. Since the body of her sister Helena was apparently also transported to Constantinople at about this time, such a possibility cannot be ruled out.

⁷⁸ *Infra*, p. 43.

⁷⁹ Apart from Valeria Severa, the first wife of Valentinian, whom the *Necrologium* declares was buried with him (*infra*, p. 42), and the possibility (*infra*, p. 43) that Theodosius I's second wife Galla may have been buried with Flaccilla.

⁸⁰ *Infra*, p. 41.

⁸¹ *Infra*, p. 43.

pation, had already been moved to a "stoa" to the north of the church. This left the symmetrical arrangement of the mausoleum unchanged, and completed the first stage in its use. By the end of the century the church of the Holy Apostles, with several imperial burials in both the church itself and the mausoleum of Constantine, was generally regarded as specifically consecrated to the reception of imperial tombs, where the emperors could repose undisturbed in close proximity to the relics of the Apostles.⁸²

Stage B

The second stage in the utilization of the mausoleum did not begin till the middle of the fifth century. Arcadius, his wife Eudoxia, and his son Theodosius II had built for themselves a "stoa" to the south of the church, but it was not large enough to hold more than three sarcophagi,⁸³ and Marcian took the decision to add a further series of tombs to the mausoleum of Constantine. The four that followed—Pulcheria and Marcian, Leo and Verina, Zeno, and Ariadne and Anastasius I—were presumably placed in the four major spaces that must have been vacant around the walls. The only one whose position is definitely known is that of Pulcheria and Marcian, which Mesarites describes as towards the east, closest to that of Theodosius the Great. It presumably occupied the middle space between those of Theodosius and Constantine, though, if Mesarites' words are to be taken literally, it must subsequently have been moved up against Theodosius' tomb so as to make space for more tombs round the walls. But it is possible that in writing as he did he had only the larger tombs in mind, and that smaller ones, added later, were in fact placed between those of Pulcheria and her grandfather.

Stage C

The addition of these four tombs made the internal arrangement of the mausoleum again symmetrical, so that it gave the impression of being "full." Justin I and Euphemia were buried elsewhere, and Justinian, in addition to rebuilding the church of the Holy Apostles, which, like so many of the hastily constructed buildings of the fourth century, was already falling into a state of dilapidation, added an entirely new mausoleum to receive the remains of himself and future emperors. Cruciform instead of circular, and apparently more spacious than that of Constantine, it served its purpose, though with occasional periods of disuse which parallel those in the history of the earlier building, for nearly three centuries. By the middle of the ninth century, however, it in turn was completely full, with no fewer than twenty-three tombs. Theophilus buried there two of his own children, Constantine and Maria, who

⁸² See some very telling passages from homilies of St. John Chrysostom quoted in F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, IV (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 139–140. But the fact that the church was, at least for a time, the approved burial place of the patriarchs must also not be overlooked.

⁸³ Probably Arcadius' numerous daughters were buried elsewhere in the church, but we have no information on the point.

died during his lifetime, but they were housed in small sarcophagi, and he buried his daughter Anna in the convent of the Lady Euphrosyne.⁸⁴ He himself was buried in the mausoleum of Justinian when he died in 842, but his successors had to look elsewhere for a place of burial.

During the reign of Michael III the problem did not arise in an acute form, for he quarrelled with his mother and sisters, whose tombs were prepared in the Gastria monastery,⁸⁵ and he himself, after his murder in 867, was buried at Chrysopolis. It was Basil I who decided on the obvious solution, a return to the mausoleum of Constantine. In comparison with the crowded condition of the mausoleum of Justinian, this must have seemed relatively empty, though Basil had to recognize that it would not hold all the members of his family and should be reserved for actual or potential emperors.⁸⁶ The first of the new series of tombs to find a home there was that of his favorite son Constantine, who was briefly co-emperor and who died on 3 September 879.⁸⁷ The second tomb was that of Bardas, a son who is otherwise unknown to history. Basil I's own tomb was the third; his wife Eudocia and his son Alexander (912-13) were subsequently buried in it with him. In 886 Leo VI brought back the body of the murdered Michael III from Chrysopolis in a coffin of cypress wood and interred it in the mausoleum of Constantine in the sarcophagus of green Thessalian marble which had formerly held Justin I and Euphemia in the monastery of the Augusta.⁸⁸ There followed the tombs of Leo's first three wives, St. Theophano,⁸⁹

⁸⁴ *Catalogus sepulchrorum* in the *De Ceremon.*, Bonn ed., i. 647. Cf. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, pp. 137-8.

⁸⁵ The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 647-8) lists the tombs of Theodora and her family in the Gastria as follows:

1. a *stataria* containing the bodies of St. Theodora and her three daughters Thecla, Anastasia, and Pulcheria;
2. the marble *larnax* of Theodora's brother Petronas, once Domestic of the Schools;
3. the *larnakion* of Theodora's mother Theoctista, of Proconnesian or Picrimian marble;
4. the *larnakidion* of Theodora's niece Irene, daughter of the Caesar Bardas, of Sagarian or Pneumonousian marble;
5. a small box, shaped like a *larnakidion*, containing the lower jawbone of Theodora's brother, the Caesar Bardas.

Their relative positions in the church are indicated in the text. The fact that Bardas' jawbone was all that his sister could save for burial bears out Genesius' account of the savagery with which his corpse was treated after his murder on 21 April 866 (Genesius, Bonn. ed., p. 107). The most unpleasant detail recalls the treatment of Phocas' body (Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 5), and, as in the case of Phocas, proceedings probably ended with its being burnt. The Caesar's jawbone presumably did duty for his head, which by Roman law (*Digest*, xi. 7. 44) determined a person's place of burial. On the Gastria, see Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3.

⁸⁶ The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* (*loc. cit.*) records the burial of his mother, two brothers, and three daughters in the church of St. Euphemia in Petrion, and of another daughter in that of St. Michael Promotou. The tombs are briefly described and located. On these churches, see Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-6, 357.

⁸⁷ He died between the sending of a papal letter to the emperor in August 879 and its arrival in Constantinople in November, as is shown by the change in the names of its recipients (Mon. Germ. Hist., *Epist. Carolini aevi*, v. 167). The precise day is given by the Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople (F. Halkin, "Trois dates historiques précisées grâce au Synaxaire," *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 14-17).

⁸⁸ *Infra*, pp. 45-46.

⁸⁹ The question of Theophano's burial place is somewhat complicated, for Leo VI acquired some property adjacent to the church of the Holy Apostles, built a church on it in her honor, and according to a number of sources (Symeon Magister, Zonaras, etc.) buried her there. Another tradition (Nicephorus Gregoras) alleged that she was temporarily buried in the church of the Apostles and subsequently removed to that of St. Constantine, where her tomb was seen by travellers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The question has been fully discussed by Downey, "The Church of All Saints

Zoe, and Eudocia,⁹⁰ one containing two of his daughters, both named Anna,⁹¹ and finally his own.

The tombs thus added in the course of three decades were no fewer than nine, and the mausoleum was once again producing the impression of "fullness." Two more of Leo's children, Eudocia and Basil, had to be buried with their mother (Theophano) and uncle (Bardas) respectively, the Emperor Alexander had to be buried with Basil I, and finally Constantine VII, though he had succeeded in finding room for a tomb for himself, was buried with Leo VI in order to leave his own free for Romanus II. It was no doubt fortunate, from the point of view of the authorities in charge of the church, that Romanus I had provided for the burial of himself and his family in the monastery of the Myrelaion, which he had founded on his family estate in the city.⁹² The *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, since it was compiled at Constantine VII's direction, pointedly omits the tombs of the Lecapeni from the imperial list, but there is some scattered information about them in the chronicles. Romanus I's wife Theodora, who died on 20 February 922, was apparently the first to be buried in the Myrelaion,⁹³ and the Emperor soon afterwards commissioned a certain Petronas to transfer from the church of St. Mamas three sarcophagi, in which Maurice and his children were said to have been buried, to the new monastery, where they were evidently intended to serve for Romanus and his relations.⁹⁴ His son and colleague Christopher was buried there in August 931,⁹⁵ so in 946 was his son and former

(Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (1956), 301-5, who concludes that she was (1) first buried in the Church of St. Theophano, (2) transferred to that of the Holy Apostles when Leo VI was induced to change the dedication of the church of St. Theophano to All Saints, and (3) finally removed to the nunnery of St. Constantine. I am sceptical of stage (3); Nicephorus Gregoras (E. Kurtz, "Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.," *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de St.-Petersbourg*, 8th Ser., III 2 [1898], 43) ascribes this removal to Leo VI, which is impossible, since her tomb was evidently in the mausoleum of Constantine when the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* was compiled, and I suspect that the nuns at St. Constantine's, who venerated her as their foundress, were simply showing some other tomb as being her's. There was also, to complicate matters a little further, an oratory (εὐκτήριον) of St. Theophano in the Holy Apostles—it is several times referred to in descriptions of ceremonies in the church—which had apparently nothing to do with her tomb.

⁹⁰ Leo VI's fourth wife, Zoe Carbonopsina, was compelled to enter the nunnery of St. Euphemia in Petrin in 919 after a real or alleged attempt to poison Romanus I (Theophanes Cont., vi. 16; Bonn ed., p. 397). She died and was buried there, her tomb being amongst those listed in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. Runciman seems wrongly to have assumed that she was the Zoe buried in the imperial mausoleum, which he oddly terms "the oratory of St. John" (*The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* [Cambridge, 1929], 61).

⁹¹ Cf. W. Ohnsorge, "Zur Frage der Töchter Kaiser Leons VI.," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 51 (1958), 78-81.

⁹² Theoph. Cont., p. 402; cf. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 364-6, on the site and history of the monastery.

⁹³ Theoph. Cont., *loc. cit.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 403-4. Two of the sarcophagi were plain, the third sculptured. Mr. Mango has called my attention to an extremely muddled reference in the *lemma* to ix. 81 of the Greek Anthology, which, after reciting the indignities which the dead might be called upon to suffer, adds "the tombs of Maurice and Amantius, the former of whom was cast out and dug down [?] (κατεσκάφη) while the latter was thrown out and scattered, the first under Leo [VI] and the second under Romanus [I]—and this although they were emperors" (*Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, ed. F. Dübner, ii [Paris, 1872], 171). In reality it was Justin I's body which was maltreated by Leo VI and the tomb of Maurice which was appropriated by Romanus I, while there was never an emperor called Amantius. Possibly the name of the church of St. Mamas was corrupted into *Amantius* at some stage in the story. It is at any rate clear that the writer has confused the treatment accorded to the tombs of Justin I and Maurice and that no weight can be attached to his assertions.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 420.

colleague Constantine, the latter by the side of his first wife Helena;⁹⁶ so in due course was Romanus I himself, after his death in exile in Prote on 15 June 948;⁹⁷ so, finally, was his daughter the Empress Helena, widow of Constantine VII, for when she died on 19 September 961 she was buried in her father's tomb, which was in the Myrelaion, instead of in the Holy Apostles.⁹⁸ Probably other members of the Lecapenus family were buried in the Myrelaion as well, but nothing about this seems to have been recorded.

The last four tombs in the mausoleum were those of Romanus II († 963), Nicephorus Phocas († 969), Theophano, widow of Romanus II († *post* 975), and Constantine VIII († 1028). Nicephorus Phocas, who was murdered by John Zimisce on the night of 10/11 December 969,⁹⁹ was buried there without ceremony twenty-four hours later, after his body had been left lying for a day in the snow.¹⁰⁰ Theophano's presence is more natural, for she was recalled from exile after John's death¹⁰¹ and, as mother of the reigning Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII, would have had a natural right to be buried with the accustomed honors of an imperial consort. John Zimisce himself died on 10 January 976,¹⁰² and was buried in a tomb elaborately decorated with gold and enamel which stood in the chapel of the Saviour in the Chalkê, at the entrance to the Great Palace.¹⁰³ Basil II died on 15 December 1025 and was buried in the church of St. John in the Hebdomon.¹⁰⁴ Only after nearly seven centuries of more or less regular use did the church of the Holy Apostles cease, in 1028, to be the regular place of burial of the emperors, whose graves in the future were to be distributed between the many churches and monasteries of the capital. Its history is in this respect curiously parallel to that of the Great Palace itself, which, from the eleventh century onwards, was practically abandoned by the court, except for some formal ceremonies, in favor of the less oppressive atmosphere of Blachernae.

b. The Mausoleum of Justinian

The Mausoleum of Justinian cannot be profitably discussed in the same detail as that of Constantine, since the separate phases of its utilization are less distinct and we have less to go upon in trying to determine its layout. We know from Nicolas Mesarites¹⁰⁵ that it was cruciform in plan—it had five “stoas”—

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 441. George Monachus (p. 924) gives the date as 15 July.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 473; Symeon Mag., p. 758. Cedrenus, ii. 344, gives the date as 20 September.

⁹⁹ Leo Diaconus, v. 6–8 (Bonn ed., pp. 84–90). Cedrenus, ii. 375, places it on the 11th.

¹⁰⁰ Leo Diaconus, v. 9 (p. 91).

¹⁰² For her exile, Leo Diaconus, vi. 4 (pp. 99–100), and Cedrenus, ii. 380–1; for her recall, Cedrenus, ii. 416.

¹⁰² Leo Diaconus, x. 11 (p. 178).

¹⁰³ Leo Diaconus, *loc. cit.*; description of the tomb in the Πάτρια, ed. Preger, ii. 283. Cf. C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959), 152. There does not seem to be any record regarding the date of death and place of burial of his wife Theodora, daughter of Constantine VII.

¹⁰⁴ *Infra*, Appendix, note 195.

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.* (*supra*, note 8) chap. 40 (pp. 892–3). Mesarites lists only six tombs: (1) Justinian's (2) Justin II's (3) Sophia's (4) Heraclius' (5) Theophilus', of green marble, and (6) Theodora's, of Sardian stone. The others he dismisses with the comment quoted *supra*, note 43.

and it was apparently entered from the west, since the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* describes the sarcophagus of Eudocia, the wife of Justinian II, as lying "to the west, on the right hand side," evidently as one entered the building.¹⁰⁶ Both the *Catalogus* and the *Necrologium* say that the sarcophagus of Justinian I occupied the apse, to the east, as was only natural, while Mesarites says that the tomb of Justin II was close to that of Justinian but towards the north, and that of his wife Sophia towards the south. The position of Theodora's sepulchre is not stated, but it presumably occupied either the northern or the southern arm of the cross. The positions of the other tombs in the mausoleum are unknown.

The persons buried in it form four chronological groups:

Group A

1. Justinian
2. Theodora
3. Justin II

Group B

4. Sophia, wife of Justin II
5. Fabia (Eudocia), wife of Heraclius
6. Heraclius
7. (Heraclius) Constantine, son of Heraclius
8. Fausta, wife of Constans II
9. Constantine IV, with his wife Anastasia
10. Eudocia, first wife of Justinian II

Group C

11. Anastasius III (Artemius)
12. Irene, wife of Anastasius III
13. Leo III the Isaurian
- 13^a. Constantine V
14. Irene, first wife of Constantine V
15. Maria, second wife of Constantine V
16. Cosmo and Irene, daughters of Leo III
17. Leo IV
18. Irene, wife of Leo IV

Group D

19. Michael II
20. Thecla, wife of Michael II
21. Theophilus
22. Constantine, son of Theophilus
23. Maria, daughter of Theophilus

There is thus a pattern which corresponds roughly to that presented by the phases in the use of the Mausoleum of Constantine, but in only one instance can we be reasonably sure that the use of the mausoleum was intentionally discontinued. There are, however, a number of minor uncertainties which must be examined more closely.

Group A

The first four names on the list form a natural grouping from the point of view of family relationships but not from that of the use of the mausoleum, since Sophia died long after her husband and the mausoleum was not employed in the intervening period by Tiberius II, though, according to Theophanes, he

¹⁰⁶ The alternative possibility of the phrase "to the west, on the right hand," implying that the mausoleum was entered from the north, is excluded by the position of the mausoleum in relation to the main building.

and his wife Anastasia shared a single tomb in the church.¹⁰⁷ The *Necrologium* says that Tiberius was buried in a tomb of Proconnesian marble in the mausoleum of Constantine. This last detail is certainly incorrect, for no such tomb is mentioned by any of the versions of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*; the tomb must have been in the main body of the church, which the compiler of the *Catalogus* does not take into account. At the date of Tiberius II's death, therefore, there would have been only three tombs in the mausoleum, those of Justinian, Theodora, and Justin II, and it would seem probable that at that time they occupied the apse and the northern and southern arms of the cross, thus giving the impression of the "fullness" we have seen already in the Mausoleum of Constantine. Tiberius II and Anastasia were consequently buried elsewhere in the church. Not till Sophia died, after the close of the century,¹⁰⁸ were the tombs of her husband and herself placed close to that of Justinian, where Mesarites was to see them much later, and the way thus opened for further imperial burials in the mausoleum.

Group B

Maurice (582–602) and his family were buried in the church of St. Mamas.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that this had been arranged before his death and was not simply a consequence of his downfall, for his widow or sister can scarcely have been in a position to make elaborate arrangements for his obsequies. The body of Phocas (602–10) was burnt and the ashes scattered,¹¹⁰ while his wife Leontia, who apparently survived him,¹¹¹ was of course denied an imperial funeral. Heraclius resumed the use of the mausoleum of Justinian for his first wife Fabia, who was crowned under the name of Eudocia and died on 13 August 612,¹¹² and thenceforward it was regularly employed by his family. The various lists, however, are in some confusion owing to the fact that his son, grandson, and great-grandson were all named Constantine, but this is a regular feature of Byzantine historiography. The brief three months' reign of Heraclius' son Heraclius Constantine in the spring of 641 was generally forgotten, so that Constans II (641–68) and Constantine IV (668–85) were treated as Heraclius' son and grandson instead of as his grandson and great-grandson respectively.¹¹³ To complicate matters still further, the nickname "Pogonatus" which had originally been applied to Constans II was transferred to Constantine IV.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ Theophanes, A.M. 6085 (ed. de Boor, i. 271), in recording Anastasia's death in A.D. 594. Maurice's father Paul died the same year and was also buried in "the imperial mausoleum," which must refer here simply to the church (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁰⁸ The date of Sophia's death is unknown, but she was still alive at Easter (26 March) 601 (Theophanes, A.M. 6093; p. 281).

¹⁰⁹ Details in *De Ceremon.*, ii. 42 (pp. 646–7); see *infra*, p. 47.

¹¹⁰ Theophanes, A.M. 6102 (p. 299).

¹¹¹ She is mentioned as still alive in 607 (*ibid.*, A.M. 6099; p. 294), and the absence of her tomb from the lists is sufficient ground for believing that she survived her husband.

¹¹² *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 612 (p. 702), which mentions her burial in the church of the Holy Apostles.

¹¹³ E.g. the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus ascribes to Constantine son of Heraclius a reign of twenty-eight years, i.e. 640–68, and says he died in Sicily, while Constantine grandson of Heraclius is credited with seventeen years, i.e. 668–85 (ed. de Boor, p. 99).

¹¹⁴ E. W. Brooks, "Who was Constantine Pogonatus?" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 17 (1908), 460–2. I have not been able to consult G. Ostrogorsky, "Konstantin Porfirogenit o Konstantinu Pogonatu,"

In the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* the confusion on this last point is extreme, for Constans II is described as *filius Heraclii, nepos Pogonatis*, and Constantine IV as *filius Pogonis*, while neither is himself actually given the nickname of *Pogonatus*.

It would seem that six tombs in all were employed for members of the Heraclian dynasty:

1. Heraclius (610-41). White Docimian.
2. Fabia (Eudocia), his wife († 612). Green Thessalian.
3. (Heraclius) Constantine (641), with his wife Gregoria. Proconnesian.
4. Fausta, wife of Constans II. Green Thessalian.
5. Constantine IV (668-85), with his wife Anastasia († *post* 710). Sagarian.
6. Eudocia, first wife of Justinian II. Variegated rose-colored Docimian.

There is no problem about the first two of these, apart from a trivial discrepancy between the sources as to the nature of the marble used for Heraclius' tomb.¹¹⁵ Nor is Fausta any problem, despite the fact that the *Catalogus* (text L) describes her as the wife of Constantine Pogonatus. Though the name of Constans II's wife is nowhere mentioned in the narrative sources, we know that Heraclius Constantine's wife was named Gregoria and Constantine IV's was Anastasia, so Fausta—an inauspicious name, one would think, for an emperor named *Constantinus*—must by elimination have been the wife of Constans II. As for Eudocia, her name was taken by the compiler of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* as that of a wife of Justinian the Great, so that she is described as such and placed appropriately after Theodora in the MS, but Reiske¹¹⁶ is certainly correct in supposing that she must be the first wife of Justinian II, whose name is unknown to us.¹¹⁷ As for the Constantines, the one described as "Pogonatus" who was buried in a tomb of Proconnesian marble was really Heraclius Constantine (641); the other, described as grandson of Heraclius and son of Constantine Pogonatus in the *Catalogus* and as *filius Pogonis* in the *Necrologium*, was Constantine IV (668-85). Though the latter's wife Anastasia is not mentioned in the *Catalogus*, there seems every likelihood that the *Necrologium* is correct in saying that she was buried with her husband, even though it is incorrect about the material of his tomb.¹¹⁸

Other members of the Heraclian dynasty were denied a place in the mausoleum. Some of them, like Heraclius' second wife Martina and his son Heracleonas, as well as Heraclius and Tiberius, the brothers of Constantine IV, had enjoyed for a time imperial rank, but all of them had been disgraced and

Zgodovinski Casopis, 6-7 (1952-3), 116ff. Brooks exaggerates the uniqueness of Constans II's beard; it was no more remarkable than that of Heraclius, at least if the coins are any guide.

¹¹⁵ *Infra*, p. 48.

¹¹⁶ *De Ceremon.*, ii. 767. To the arguments he adduces one may add the fact that, since Justinian II's first wife presumably died before he was deposed in 695, one would expect to find a tomb belonging to her in the mausoleum of Constantine.

¹¹⁷ Her existence, so far as the literary sources are concerned, is a deduction from the fact that in 705 Justinian II had a daughter old enough to be promised in marriage to the Bulgarian khan Terbel (Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 42).

¹¹⁸ The *Necrologium* describes it as of Thessalian instead of Sagarian marble.

deprived of their titles before they died.¹¹⁹ Others who died as children were probably buried with their parents, the fact not being of sufficient consequence for mention in the sources. Both Justinian II and his son Tiberius, who was murdered with him in 711, were denied an imperial funeral, but Tiberius was buried in the monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian by the side of the Golden Horn.¹²⁰

Of the five emperors who bridged the gap between the Heraclian and Isaurian dynasties, only Anastasius II was to find a resting place in the church of the Holy Apostles. Leontius (695–8) and Tiberius III (698–705), who were put to death by Justinian II, were buried on the island of Protê; Philippicus (711–14) was buried in the monastery of Dalmatoi; and Theodosius III (715–6) became a monk at Ephesus and was buried in the church of St. Philip by the harbor.

Group C

Under Leo III the series of imperial tombs in the mausoleum of Justinian was resumed, though oddly enough in favor of a fallen emperor. Both Anastasius III (714–5) and his wife Irene were buried there, Anastasius in a sarcophagus of Sagarian and Irene in one of Hierapolitan marble. How Irene managed to ensure that this was done we are not told. Although Leo III had Anastasius executed in 720 for conspiracy, the sources suggest that the fallen Emperor was a foolish man misled by bad advisers, so that Leo may have felt disposed to show indulgence for his memory.

The tombs of the Isaurian emperors and their families were seven in number. Leo III and his wife Maria were buried together¹²¹ in the same sarcophagus (1); then came (2) Constantine V, (3) Constantine V's first wife Irene the Khazar, who died in 750,¹²² (4) Constantine's second wife Maria, who died in 751 a few months after her marriage,¹²³ (5) Constantine's sisters Cosmo and Irene, about whom nothing is known, (6) Leo IV, and (7) Leo's wife Irene, who herself ruled as sole *basileus*—after she had deposed and blinded her son Constantine VI—from 797 to 802.

Two of these tombs, those of Constantine V and Irene, require a word of explanation. Irene was deposed in 802 and exiled to Mytilene; when she died a year later her body was brought back to Prinkipo and buried there.¹²⁴ We

¹¹⁹ Martina and Heracleonas died and were buried in the monastery known as τὸ Δεσποτικόν (Leo Grammaticus, *Chron.*, p. 157). This was presumably the same as that in which Theodosia, widow of Leo V, was interred (*infra*, Appendix, note 170).

¹²⁰ Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 48. On the monastery of the Anargyroi, see Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 296–300, though he has overlooked this text, which shows that by 711 it had been rebuilt after its destruction at the hands of the Avars in 629.

¹²¹ So the *Necrologium*; the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* does not mention Maria.

¹²² The date of her death is not given, but her son Leo IV was born on 25 January 750 (Theophanes, A.M. 6241; p. 426) and her successor Maria died only a little more than a year later; see next note. She had received the name of Irene on the occasion of her arrival at Constantinople for baptism and marriage (*ibid.*, A.M. 6224; p. 410).

¹²³ Nicephorus, p. 65, the event being placed soon after the coronation of the infant Leo IV, which Theophanes makes the last entry for A.M. 6241 (p. 426). Maria was so unimportant that the compiler of the *Catalogus* did not even know her name.

¹²⁴ *Infra*, Appendix, note 161.

have this on the authority of Theophanes, an unimpeachable witness, and it is confirmed by the *Necrologium*. Version L of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, on the other hand, equally clearly places her sepulchre in the mausoleum of Justinian.¹²⁵ As for the tomb of Constantine V, the *Catalogus* describes it as one of green Thessalian marble, in which Constantine, the son of the Isaurian, had lain; it then goes on to say that when Constantine's body was taken out and burnt by Michael III and Theodora, the sarcophagus was also removed and broken up, thereby providing some of the material used in the construction of the Church of the Pharos. There is a manifest contradiction between these two statements, for the first sentence implies that the sarcophagus was still in the mausoleum when the *Catalogus* was compiled. On the other hand, its removal during the iconodule reaction of Michael's III's reign is both probable in itself and borne out by other sources.¹²⁶ It would seem, therefore, that the tomb was really removed, and that the *Catalogus*, in describing its presence in the mausoleum, was recording an arrangement that had formerly existed but no longer did so. If Michael III removed a tomb from the mausoleum, however, it would have left room for another, and we have seen already that neither Basil I nor any later emperor found a place there for burial. The explanation can probably be found in the other contradiction between Irene's burial at Prinkipo and the presence of her tomb in the Mausoleum of Justinian. It would surely be natural for Theodora and Michael, after having disposed of the arch-iconoclast, to have brought back from exile the body of the Empress responsible for the restoration of images in 787 for honorable burial in the imperial mausoleum.

The addition of so many tombs during the Isaurian period must have left the mausoleum very crowded. It now contained no fewer than eighteen sarcophagi, and the political upheavals that began in the reign of Constantine VI cannot have been altogether unwelcome to the officials of the church. Already one Isaurian princess, Constantine V's sister Anna, wife of the usurper Artavasdus, had not received imperial burial.¹²⁷ Constantine VI's five uncles were disgraced and blinded in the course of his reign and we are ignorant of the dates of their deaths and their places of burial; certainly these were not in the church of the Holy Apostles. Their downfall also probably accounts for the fact that there was no imperial tomb for Constantine V's third wife Eudocia, who, after giving birth to four sons, had been crowned Augusta on 1 April 769.¹²⁸ Constantine VI himself, his widow Maria, and his daughters Euphrosyne (second wife of Michael II) and Irene were buried in a single sarcophagus in the monastery of the Lady Euphrosyne.¹²⁹ We do not know what became of Constantine VI's second wife Theodota. The doubtful legality of her marriage would have

¹²⁵ The C and R texts do not mention it, but this section is so abbreviated in them that the omission is without significance.

¹²⁶ *Infra*, p. 53.

¹²⁷ This at least is to be presumed, though we know nothing positive. Artavasdus and his two sons, including his co-Emperor Nicephorus, were blinded and paraded in the Hippodrome after their downfall, but nothing is said of their ultimate fate (Theophanes, A.M. 6235 [i. 420]; Nicephorus, p. 62).

¹²⁸ Theophanes, A.M. 6260 (i. 443-4); Nicephorus, p. 77.

¹²⁹ *Infra*, p. 55.

rendered uncertain her title to an imperial funeral, but at least her son Leo, who was born in October 796 and died on 1 May 797,¹³⁰ would have been buried in the church of the Holy Apostles. Perhaps he may have shared one of the many Isaurian tombs with its previous occupant, but if so, no historian has troubled to record the fact.

Group D

The last group of tombs in the mausoleum were those of members of the Amorian dynasty. None of the four emperors who ruled between 802 and 820 received imperial burial.¹³¹ Nicephorus I (802–11) was killed in Bulgaria; his skull was converted into a drinking cup for the Khan and his body was burned. Since his wife was not buried in the mausoleum and is never mentioned in the chronicles—we do not even know her name—it is reasonable to infer that she died before his accession. His son and successor Stauracius (811), who died as a monk, was buried in the Staurakion monastery, as was Stauracius' wife Theophano, the two sharing a single tomb. Michael I (811–13) was likewise deposed and died as a monk; so it was natural that he should be buried as such, first on the island of Platê and subsequently in the church of St. Michael at Satyros in Bithynia. Nothing is known of the burial place of his wife Procopia, daughter of Nicephorus I, who in 813 was forced to enter the nunnery called after her namesake St. Procopia. His eldest son and co-Emperor Theophylact, mutilated in 813 and compelled to enter religion under the name of Eustratius, died five years after the death of his father and was buried in the same church; the second son Nicetas eventually became patriarch of Constantinople under the name of Ignatius and, since he died in office (23 October 877), he at least was buried in a worthy fashion;¹³² the third son Stauracius, named after his uncle, died before his father and was probably buried at Platê, but details are lacking.¹³³ Finally Leo V (813–20) was murdered and buried on the island of Protê; his widow Theodosia and the Emperor's mother were settled on the island of Chalkitês (Halki) in the Prince's group and his four sons, of whom the eldest, Smpad or Symbatios, had been associated with him under the name of Constantine, were mutilated and—apart from one who died and was buried with Leo—were sent into exile on Protê. None of them received an imperial funeral.¹³⁴

The tombs of the Amorian dynasty in the mausoleum were five in number, those of Michael II (820–9) and his wife Thecla, that of Theophilus (829–42), and those of the latter's son and colleague Constantine and his daughter Maria. Their identifications, as preserved in the records of the church, seem to have been extremely imperfect, and the various accounts are in great confusion. Their discrepancies can be tabulated as follows:

¹³⁰ Theophanes, A.M. 6289 (p. 471).

¹³¹ For the details that follow, see *infra*, p. 55 ff.

¹³² His body was placed first in Santa Sophia, subsequently in St. Menas by the Bosphorus, and was finally buried at Satyros (Nicetas, *Vita Ignatii*, in Migne, PG, 105, cols. 557, 560).

¹³³ These particulars of the fate of Michael's family are from Theoph. Cont., pp. 19–21, and Nicetas, *Vita Ignatii*, cols. 489, 492.

¹³⁴ *Infra*, Appendix, note 170.

	L	C	R	<i>Necrologium</i>
Michael II	green Thessalian	Proconnesian	—	white Proconnesian
Thecla	Sagarian			
Theophilus	green	green	green	Proconnesian
Constantine	green	—	—	—
Maria	Sagarian	—	—	—

The omissions in C and R have no particular significance, since these lists are much less complete than L, and the *Necrologium* records only actual sovereigns. The main complications are: *a* the nature and consequently the identification of the tombs, *b* the conflict of evidence as to whether Michael II was buried with his wife or not, confusion being further created by the *Necrologium* stating (wrongly) that his wife was named Maria, and *c* the fact that C adds a further sepulchre to the Mausoleum of Constantine and ascribes it to Michael “the Amorian,” the other references to him using his usual nickname, “the Stammerer.”

There is no fully satisfactory way of accounting for these anomalies. A general shuffling round of bodies and sarcophagi in the tenth and eleventh centuries between the compilation of the various lists seems most unlikely. The safest procedure is to follow the guidance of L, for its assertion that Michael II was buried in the mausoleum of Justinian in a tomb of green Thessalian marble is confirmed by the Continuator of Theophanes.¹³⁵ In ascribing to Michael II a white marble tomb, the *Necrologium* is evidently relying on a text of the *Catalogus* close to that of C, which diverges from the more reliable version L and is also wrong in placing Michael II and Thecla in the same tomb. That the *Necrologium* is wrong in attributing Theophilus a white marble tomb may also be taken as certain, for it gives him in addition a quite incorrect obit; there was evidently confusion in the entries regarding him which cannot now be sorted out.

c. The two “Stoas”

There remain, finally, the two “stoas,” the northern one of them containing the tombs of Julian (360–3) and Jovian (363–4) and the southern one those of Arcadius (395–408), his wife Eudoxia († 6 October 404), and his son Theodosius II (408–50). The evidence regarding them has recently been collected and discussed by Downey,¹³⁶ who argues that they were small independent buildings detached from the main church and to the north and south of it. They were cruciform in plan, with an entrance from the west, since the sarcophagi of Arcadius, Eudoxia, and Theodosius II are described by the *Catalogus* as standing respectively “towards the south,” “towards the east,” and “towards the north.” The fact that some of the texts describe the “stoas” as being *parts* of the church, and burials in them as being *in* the church, is understandable if both buildings were very close to the church and within its precincts.

¹³⁵ Theoph. Cont., p. 84.

¹³⁶ “The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors,” 45–48.

So far as the southern "stoa" is concerned Mr. Downey's reasoning seems to me justified, and one can probably see a parallel between this small mausoleum and that of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, even if the absence of columns in the latter case might cast doubt on a claim on its behalf to the name of "stoa."¹³⁷ The mausoleum of Galla Placidia, constructed only a few decades after its counterpart in Constantinople, is also a small cruciform building holding three great sarcophagi, the largest, that of the Empress herself, occupying the place of honor facing the entrance, and those traditionally ascribed to her husband Constantius III and her father Honorius being on the left and right respectively.¹³⁸ Though it is now separated from the church of Santa Croce, also constructed by Galla Placidia, by the width of a street, this has been the case only since the sixteenth century; formerly the church of Santa Croce was much larger than it is today—the western part was demolished in 1602 and the remainder restored out of all recognition in 1716—and the mausoleum was linked with it by a portico.¹³⁹ Downey has made a good case for attributing the construction of the "stoa" in which Eudoxia and her family were buried to the Empress herself—if it had been later in date it is difficult to believe that Arcadius would not have been given the place of honor—and it would seem likely that Galla Placidia, in constructing her mausoleum in Ravenna, had in mind the model of that in the church of the Holy Apostles.

The northern "stoa," however, seems to have been of a different character from the southern one. It must, in the first place, have been unlike it in shape since it held only two sarcophagi instead of three; all that we know of the various mausolea indicates that lack of space was a chronic source of difficulty and another tomb would have been placed in the northern "stoa" if there had been room for it. Secondly, as Downey has noted, there are slight but perhaps significant differences in the wording of C and R when describing the relation of the "stoas" to the church: both texts describe the northern stoa as "another stoa of the same church to the north" (στοὰ ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς ἄρκτον) while C describes the southern one as "another stoa to the south of the same church" (στοὰ ἑτέρα πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ) and R simply as "another stoa," the phrase τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ being either differently placed or omitted altogether. A similar distinction is made in the *Necrologium*, where Julian's body is said to be *in septentrionali parte in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum* while those of Arcadius and Eudoxia are *in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum ... ad*

¹³⁷ *Supra*, note 27.

¹³⁸ These ascriptions are traditional and quite unsupported by concrete evidence. The seated figure of Galla Placidia, which was visible through a hole in the side of the largest tomb up to its accidental destruction by fire in 1577, must be written off as a late medieval effigy and not her embalmed figure: see C. Ricci, *Il Mausoleo di Galla Placidia* (Rome, 1914), 19–20. It should perhaps be said that there is no evidence for the fairly widespread belief that Byzantine emperors were buried seated; nor was embalming a regular practice, though we hear of it occasionally when an emperor died away from the capital. The little that is known about Byzantine imperial funerals—and this comes mainly from the very brief chapter in the *De Ceremoniis*, i. 60 (Bonn ed., i. 275–6), helped out by occasional descriptions in other sources, e.g. the references of Corippus to the funeral of Justinian—has been examined by H. Grauert in an article replying to Ladner's attack on the veracity of the traditional account of Otto III's opening of Charlemagne's grave ("Zu den Nachrichten über die Bestattung Karls d. Gr.," *Hist. Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 14 (1893), 312–5).

¹³⁹ Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff.

porticum meridianum. Thirdly, as Downey also observes, lists C and R describe the southern "stoa" as being roofless and in a ruinous condition, while there is no similar comment on the northern one; this difference might be explicable by the first being a separate building and the second part of the main church. Finally, while Eudoxia or Arcadius or Theodosius II were, as ruling sovereigns, in a position to erect a separate mausoleum for themselves, the same would not have been true of either Julian's or Jovian's heirs. Julian's executors had already fulfilled their duty in erecting for him a mausoleum at Tarsus; Jovian's successor might allow the late Emperor an imperial funeral, but is scarcely likely to have constructed a special mausoleum on his behalf.

The probability, then, is that the northern "stoa" was not a separate building but an already existing side-chapel of the church and that it was simply regarded as suitable for housing the tomb of Jovian when—if the view put forward earlier is correct—this was moved out of the mausoleum of Constantine to make room for that of Theodosius. Since there was room in it for a second sarcophagus, that of Julian was placed beside it when this in due course was brought to Constantinople. It is true that there was no blood relationship between the two Emperors, but they had at least been comrades-in-arms, and the very fact that Jovian, a devout Christian, had been maintained in his military rank and office by Julian would suffice to make the juxtaposition of their tombs less anomalous than any other arrangement that could easily have been devised under the circumstances.

APPENDIX

ANALYSIS OF SECTIONS II AND III OF THE *NECROLOGIUM*.

The reliability of the *Necrologium* can be estimated only from a detailed analysis of its contents, which may in any case be of use as a general guide to the obits of the Byzantine emperors between 337 and 1042. The following survey covers the factual statements in the work, with a note in each case saying whether or not they are "correct." Such a description can of course mean no more than "confirmed by some other apparently reliable source," which in the case of the tombs means generally "confirmed by the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* in one or other of its versions." The position and material of individual sarcophagi, however, are sometimes mentioned in the narrative texts.

The usual elements in each entry are six in number: (1) obit or date of deposition, (2) circumstances of death or deposition, (3) place of burial, (4) nature of tomb, (5) name of wife, coupled often with a statement as to whether she was buried with her husband or separately, and (6) length of reign. One or more of these items may be omitted and their order is variable, though the obit is normally placed first and the length of reign last. The statement of the empress' name has often become detached from that of the place of burial and added to the length of the reign, so that one finds such phrases as that for, e.g. Constantine the Great: *regnavit cum Helena, matre sua, ann. 33*. The emperor's nickname, if he had one, is usually noted. The length of reign was computed in varying ways, fractions being sometimes ignored and sometimes treated as if they were complete years. I have not commented on these unless there is something quite abnormal about the figures.

The words used for "tomb" are something of a problem. The commonest term is *pila*, which has not normally the meaning of sarcophagus, but since it gives the impression of a huge block of stone is not a bad way of describing at least the largest of the sarcophagi. Though presumably it was used to translate *λάβραξ*, I have preferred to render it as "block" in order to keep closer to its normal meaning. *Lanarkum* is used once, for the tomb of Valentinian, and is simply a transcription of *λαρνάκιον*, which the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* (text L) applies only to smaller sarcophagi.¹ A third term, *labrum*, occurs seven times, for the tombs of Julian, Jovian, Zeno, Anastasius I, Justin I, Justinian I, and Justin II. Julian's tomb is known from the *Catalogus* to have been cylindrical, but there is no reason to suppose that this was true of the others; I have kept the term, however, since it may possibly imply tombs having a curved or basin-shaped lid, like that of Otto II in the atrium of Old St. Peter's which is so labelled in a late medieval sketch.²

In the notes on the entries I have limited myself to citing the most important primary authorities, since nothing is to be gained by citing later sources which have done no more than copy the evidence of earlier ones that still survive. Leo Grammaticus has been taken as representing Symeon Logothete, the Old Slavonic version of which, edited by V. Sreznevski at St. Petersburg in 1905, was not accessible to me, and Cedrenus or Zonaras—only the fuller of the two is cited—as representing Scylitzes. Page references are normally to the Bonn Corpus editions unless there are good reasons for preferring another, as is the case for Theophanes and Nicephorus, where de Boor's are intended. Citations from modern authors are limited to discussions of special points on which the primary authorities are defective or contradict each other.³ The best general conspectus of the lives of the emperors and their families is still the *Familiae byzantinae* of Ducange, but for individual periods and problems much help can be gained from the works of Tillemont (to 518), Goyau (to 395), Seeck (311–476), Clinton (to 641), Muralt, Bury, Stein, and Ostrogorsky. The latter's *History of the Byzantine Empire* includes references to most of the recent literature.

No advantage would be gained by printing the full text of the *Necrologium* as it stands in Cessi's edition. The following analysis consists of a summary of the notice of each emperor, accompanied by statements regarding the reliability of the information there contained and a discussion of such difficult points as may come up.

CONSTANTINE I (306–337). Son of Constantius by his concubine Helena. Born in Britain, and founded in Thrace the city bearing his name where he established the government of the empire and which he made the first city of the east. Died 20 May (*rectè* 22 May),⁴ and was buried in a porphyry block (*correct*) in the mausoleum which he himself had built in the church of the Holy Apostles. He reigned with his mother Helena for 33 years.

The last sentence, *regnavit cum matre sua ann. 33*, is presumably a misunderstanding of the Greek text, which must have said that he was buried with his mother Helena, and reigned 33 years. There were rival traditions on the subject of St. Helena's place of burial, some saying that it was at Rome and others that she shared Constantine's tomb at Constantinople. The last belief, it is true, was not very firmly held; Mesarites refers to it as being a matter of general repute. It is possible

¹ Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 30–31, nos. 16, 17, 40, 41.

² Delbrueck, *Antike Porphywerke*, 214.

³ There are particularly useful examinations of problems of imperial dating in G. Ostrogorsky, "Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 7 (1930), 1–56; E. Kornemann, *Doppelprincipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1930), which includes a section on the Byzantine period by Ostrogorsky; and Dölger's review of Kornemann-Ostrogorsky in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 33 (1933), 136–44.

⁴ Socrates, i. 40 (Migne, PG, 67, col. 180); *Cons. Constant.*, a. 337 (in Mon. Germ. Hist., *Chron. min.*, i. 235). He is commemorated by the Orthodox Church, however, on 21 May.

that both are correct; that she was buried first at Rome and that her body was transferred to Constantinople after the mausoleum of Constantine was completed.⁵

Though she is not mentioned in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, Constantine's wife Fausta, who died under obscure circumstances in 326, may also have been buried with him. Cedrenus⁶ alleges that she shared the tomb with Constantine and Helena, and it is inherently probable that Constantius II would have wished to honor his mother by securing for her, after Constantine's death, an imperial tomb.

CONSTANTIUS II (337–361), with Constantine II and Constans, sons of Constantine the Great. Died 3 November (*correct*);⁷ buried in a porphyry block (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. He reigned 24 years.

Constantius II died in Cilicia, and it was Jovian, the future emperor, who superintended the transport of his remains to Constantinople for burial "amongst his relatives" (*prope necessitudines eius*).⁸ His burial in the mausoleum of Constantine is generally attested, and Mesarites records the position of his tomb on the south side of the building.

Constantius II married three times, and it is possible, despite the silence of the *Catalogus*, that at least his second wife Eusebia was buried in the same tomb as himself.⁹

JULIAN the Apostate (360–363). Died 26 June (*correct*)¹⁰ in Persia; his body was brought to Constantinople and buried in the north part (*correct*) of the Church of the Holy Apostles in a porphyry *labrum* (*correct*). He reigned 4 years 8 months (*error for 7 years [iiii for vii], 8 months, reckoning from his nomination as Caesar on 6 November 355*).

Julian was first buried at Tarsus, in accordance with directions he had left behind, and the date of his reburial at Constantinople is not known precisely. It was certainly after 390 and probably between 390 and 395.

The *terminus post quem* is that of the completion of Book XXV of the *History* of Ammianus Marcellinus, since Ammianus, writing with an eye to his half-pagan friends of the senatorial class at Rome, declares that, without wishing to depreciate the Cydnus, he would regard it as more fitting if Julian's remains were laid to rest beside the Tiber, in sight of the monuments of his predecessors in the Eternal City.¹¹ In 389 or 390, therefore, when this part of the work was completed and published,¹² Julian's tomb was still at Tarsus. As for the *terminus ante quem*, it is difficult to imagine any emperor later than Theodosius I interesting himself in the matter, and it seems to me possible that Ammianus' comment may well have had the unexpected consequence of causing the last champion of paganism to be laid to rest in a Christian church. Ammianus' remarks occur in the last chapter of Book XXV, which closes the section published in 389–90, and may have come to Theodosius' attention during his Italian visit of 391–2. It is true that the religious views of Julian and Theodosius could hardly have been more different, but it was

⁵ J. Ebersolt, "Sarcophages impériaux de Rome et de Constantinople," *BZ*, 30 (1929–30), 582–7, where the sources are cited and discussed. Ebersolt argues that the so-called sarcophagus of St. Helena in the Vatican is really that of Constantius Chlorus.

⁶ Bonn ed., i. 519–20.

⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus (xxi. 15. 3) gives the date as 5 October (3 *non. Oct.*), but Socrates (ii. 47) and the *Consul. Constant.* (in *Chron. min.*, i.240) both give 3 November (3 *non. Nov.*). Ammianus evidently made a slip in reading his notes, forgetting that he was not dealing with kalends (O. Seeck, "Zur Chronologie und Quellenkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus," *Hermes*, 41 [1906], p. 513; cf. 485–6 on other chronological weaknesses in the work).

⁸ Amm. Marc., xxi. 16. 19.

⁹ So Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 91, whence Cedrenus, i. 531. Both describe Eusebia as the Emperor's first wife; she was in fact his second.

¹⁰ This is the date given by all the earlier sources. Theophanes, by a common error, gives 26 January (A.M. 5855; p. 53).

¹¹ Amm. Marc., xxv. 10. 5.

¹² A new section of the *History*, which apparently came out in instalments, starts with Book XXVI and the accession of Valentinian I. On internal evidence this Book can be dated to 391.

Theodosius who was most active in turning the church of the Holy Apostles into an imperial mausoleum, and the paganism of Julian could easily be overlooked in view of the imperial office he had held. The silence of Zosimus regarding such a reburial is not proof to the contrary, for although Zosimus wrote in the early sixth century and copied Eunapius of Sardis, who wrote in the early fifth, both authors were professing pagans who would undoubtedly have refrained from alluding to such an event.

With regard to the tomb itself, all the sources agree that it stood in the northern "stoa" of the church, side by side with that of Jovian, and most of them mention that it was "cylindrical," the fact being evidently sufficiently unusual to require comment. One of the surviving sarcophagi at Istanbul which is so shaped has consequently been customarily identified as that of Julian, but Mango¹³ has pointed out that, since one of the sarcophagi known in the eighteenth century and no longer extant was also cylindrical, this cannot be regarded as certain. It is also probable that Julian was not the only occupant of the tomb, for Leo Grammaticus says that when the body of Julian was brought from Tarsus to Constantinople, it was to be buried beside his wife Helena.¹⁴ Since we know that she had earlier been buried at Rome this would mean that she was transferred to Constantinople in the late fourth century, probably by Theodosius I.

A word should be said regarding Julian's epitaph, which has come down to us in two versions. The shorter one, in two lines, is given by Zosimus¹⁵ and was picked up in the *Anthologia Palatina*, where it is credited to Libanius.¹⁶ The longer version, in four lines, is given by Cedrenus¹⁷ and Zonaras¹⁸ who are here copying Scylitzes. The last line is common to both versions but the others are different: that of Zosimus alludes to Julian's *burial* beyond the Tigris, the longer version to his burial by the banks of the Cydnus. A further complication is that both Cedrenus and Zonaras imply that the epitaph, despite its allusion to the Cydnus, had accompanied Julian's sarcophagus to Constantinople and was to be seen there in the eleventh century.¹⁹ This last must surely have been the case, and there can likewise be little doubt that the version of the epitaph given by Cedrenus and Zonaras is the correct one. That of Zosimus, with its quite misleading reference to the Tigris, may be either a quotation from memory on the part of either Zosimus or his source Eunapius, or conceivably a first draft of the epitaph formulated when the news of Julian's death had reached his friends and nothing had yet been determined regarding his place of burial. It is significant that the striking last line is common to both versions.

JOVIAN (363–364). Died 17 February (*correct*)²⁰ at *Tuchera*, a city of Galatia (*incorrect, but explicable*);²¹ his body was brought to Constantinople and buried in a *labrum* of porphyry²² in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). His wife (Charito) was buried with

¹³ *Art. cit.* (*supra*, p. 3, note 3), pp. 401.

¹⁴ Leo Grammaticus, pp. 93–4.

¹⁵ Zosimus, iii. 34. 4 (ed. L. Mendelssohn [Leipzig, 1887] p. 157).

¹⁶ *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 747 (ed. F. Dübner, 1 [Paris, 1864], 416), the attribution being certainly fictitious. Cf. R. Förster, "Die Schriftstellerei des Libanios," *Jahrbücher f. classische Philologie*, 22 (1876), 213–4.

¹⁷ Bonn ed., i. 539.

¹⁸ Zonaras, xiii. 13. 24 (Bonn ed., iii. 68). It is included by E. Cougny in his *Appendix nova*, ii. 601 to the *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, 3 (Paris, 1890), 189.

¹⁹ Maricq, *art. cit.* (*supra*, p. 8, note 33), pp. 371–2, assumes that the epitaph had stayed at Tarsus, but the texts of Cedrenus and Zonaras are quite clear. Cedrenus might have taken the description of Julian's sarcophagus as cylindrical from Leo Grammaticus, but the latter does not give the epitaph. It is, however, true that one has to be wary of chroniclers' assertions that inscriptions are still visible, for the statement may simply have been taken verbally from an earlier writer. Cf. G. Downey, "References to Inscriptions in the Chronicle of Malalas", *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, 66 (1935), 55–72.

²⁰ Socrates, iii. 26; iv. 1 (PG, 67, cols. 457, 464).

²¹ He died at Dadastana, on the border between Galatia and Bithynia (Amm. Marc., xxv. 10. 12, and the Greek writers). The translator took the Greek for "the place" (τὸ χωρίον) ("called Dadastana," or some such phrase) in the original text as being the place-name itself, and so arrived at *Tuchera*.

²² The passage reads *in labro porfiveto Magni Constantini*, and is evidently corrupt. The original text had probably something to the effect that it was in the same building in which Constantine was buried; cf. the *ubi Magnus Constantinus* of the entry under Valentinian I. It was in fact in the northern "stoa," as has been seen already.

him later in the same *labrum* (*correct*).²³ He reigned 1 year 8 months (*incorrect: only 8 months*).²⁴

VALENS (364–378). Died 9 August (*correct*)²⁵ in Thrace, being burned by the Goths with two of his eunuchs in a house in Macedonia (where he had taken refuge after the battle of Adrianople) (*correct*). Since his body was never found it could not be given imperial burial.²⁶ He reigned 13 years.

VALENTINIAN I (364–375). Died 21 March (*incorrect, but explicable*) in Gaul. His body was brought to Constantinople in the time of Theodosius the Great (*not quite correct*) and buried in a porphyry *larnax* (*unconfirmed, but probable*) in the church of the Holy Apostles *ubi Magnus Constantinus* (lies buried) (*correct*). He is buried with his (first) wife Severa (*unconfirmed, but probable*). His second wife Justina died at Milan (*correct*). He reigned 13 years.

Valentinian I died in Pannonia on 17 November 375²⁷ and was immediately embalmed and sent to Constantinople *ut . . . inter divorum reliquias humaretur*. His body did not arrive till a year later, on 28 December 376,²⁸ and even then there was apparently no tomb ready to receive it, so that it was not until 21 February 382 that Theodosius finally presided over the funeral of his great predecessor.²⁹ This date is the probable explanation of the erroneous one given by the *Necrologium* for Valentinian's death. The compiler found the date of the funeral recorded as *9 kal. Mart.*, assumed it was the date of death, and then made the common mistake of failing to adjust the month from March to February.

The chronicler Marcellinus Comes records that Valentinian was buried at Constantinople *apud comitatum regio in sepulchro*,³⁰ and Leo Grammaticus³¹ and the *Necrologium* make it clear that this ambiguous phrase meant no more than burial in imperial company in the church of the Holy Apostles.³² The tomb was presumably in the main body of the church, which explains its omission from the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. The *Necrologium* is the only authority for the tomb being of porphyry and for Severa being subsequently buried at Valentinian's side, but both details are probable.³³

THEODOSIUS I (379–395). Died 7 January (*error for 17 January*) at Milan (*correct*). His body was brought to Constantinople and buried in a block of porphyry (*correct*) in the

²³ Zonaras, xiii. 14. 23 (Bonn ed., iii. 72).

²⁴ The Dresden MS gives the correct figure of 8 months, but the error may have been in the Greek original, for some Byzantine sources also have 1 year 8 months (e.g. Leo Grammaticus, p. 95).

²⁵ Socrates, iv. 38 (PG, 67, col. 560); *Cons. Const.*, a. 378 (*Chror. min.*, i. 243).

²⁶ *Non est dignus inter Augustos sepelliri*, i.e. as a punishment for his Arianism. This view seems to have been general in orthodox circles. The triumph of orthodoxy in the east after his death consigned to oblivion his Arian wife Albia Domnica and his two daughters Anastasia and Carosa, though the daughters had the distinction of having two public baths, which he founded at Constantinople, named after them (*Chron. Paschale*, a. 364; p. 556). His son Galatus had presumably died young.

²⁷ Ammianus, xxx. 10. 1. The date is correctly given by later Byzantine writers, e.g. Theophanes, A.M. 5867 (p. 62).

²⁸ *Consul. Constant.*, a. 376 (*Chron. min.*, i. 242).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, a. 382 (p. 243).

³⁰ *Divi Valentiniani magni cadavere Theodosius princeps ab Italia reportato apud comitatum regio in sepulchro recondidit* (*Chron.*, a. 382, in *Chron. min.*, ii. 61).

³¹ Bonn ed., p. 96.

³² This was also the view of Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 46–7, though he did not know of the texts referring definitely to the church. For Schneider's view that *apud comitatum* meant in the precincts of the palace, see *supra*, p. 3, note 3.

³³ Valeria Severa Marina was repudiated by Valentinian in 368 in order that he might marry Justina, but she was restored to favor by her son Gratian after Valentinian's death, and given the imperial title (*Chron. Pasch.*, a. 378; Bonn ed., i. 560). Nothing is known of the date or circumstances of her death. Justina died in the summer of 388 (Rufinus, ii. 17; Sozomen, 7.14; 4. 47) and was presumably buried at Milan. Her Arianism would probably have precluded her burial in the church of the Holy Apostles even if she had died at Constantinople.

mausoleum of Constantine in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*) where his wife Flaccilla had previously been buried (*correct*). He reigned 16 years.

The error in the date must be the result of miscopying, for 17 January is well attested.³⁴ From Ambrose's funeral oration, delivered in the presence of Honorius forty days after Theodosius' death, it would appear that the funeral cortege for Constantinople was then on the point of leaving.³⁵ The *Chronicon Paschale* places both its arrival and the Emperor's funeral on 9 November,³⁶ but the first of these dates probably represents an accidental repetition of the second, since it is unlikely that the journey would have taken eight months.

Though the sources are silent on the point, one may conjecture that the Emperor's second wife Galla, who died of a miscarriage in May 394,³⁷ was also, like Flaccilla,³⁸ buried with him.

ARCADIUS (395–408). Died 1 May (*correct*);³⁹ buried in a block of porphyry which stands in a southern portico (*correct*) of the church of the Holy Apostles. With him (i.e. in the same portico, not in the same tomb) is his wife Eudoxia⁴⁰ who died before him (*correct*).⁴¹ He reigned 23 years (*error for* 13, 13' *having been misread as* 13').

THEODOSIUS II (408–450). Died 30 July (*rectè* 28 July); buried in a block of Thessalian marble (*incorrect*) in the mausoleum of Constantine (*incorrect*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Eudocia is not buried with him (*correct*). He reigned 42 years.

This entry is a mass of errors. That of the date of death is trivial, and perhaps due to a confusion between the date of the Emperor's funeral and that of his death,⁴² since 30 miscopied as 28 is not likely palaeographically in either Greek or Latin notation. The others are more serious, but they are in part shared with text C of the *Catalogus*, which also places the tomb of Theodosius II in the mausoleum of Constantine. There has evidently been confusion between Theodosius II and his grandfather, coupled here with a further misreading of the list of sarcophagi.⁴³

Theodosius II was in fact buried in a porphyry tomb in the southern "stoa," as were his parents. At the moment of his death his own tomb was not ready, for he was placed in that of Arcadius,⁴⁴ but despite an ambiguity in text L⁴⁵ it is clear that he ultimately had a separate one for himself. His wife Eudocia, from whom he was estranged in his later years, died at Jerusalem and was buried there in the church of St Stephen.⁴⁶ The year of her death is uncertain.⁴⁷

³⁴ Socrates, v. 26; vi. 1 (PG, 67, cols. 653, 660); *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 394 (p. 565).

³⁵ *De obitu Theodosii*, in PL, 16, cols. 1385–1406, esp. col. 1404.

³⁶ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 395 (p. 566).

³⁷ Zosimus, iv. 57 (ed. Mendelssohn, p. 213); on the eve of his departure for Italy to suppress the revolt of Eugenius.

³⁸ Flaccilla died in 386 at Skotumis in Thrace (funeral oration by Gregory of Nyssa, PG, 46, cols. 884–5). For the year, see Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Flaccilla." The day is sometimes given as 14 September, which is that on which she is commemorated by the Church, but this is not necessarily that of her death.

³⁹ Theod. Lector, ii. 63 (PG, 86 [i], col. 213).

⁴⁰ Cf. Leo Grammaticus, p. 46: "his body was laid in the Church of the Holy Apostles, in the southern 'stoa,' where his wife Eudoxia was buried in a Roman [i.e. porphyry] sarcophagus," whence Cedrenus, i. 586.

⁴¹ She died on 6 October 404 and was buried on the 12th (*Chron. Paschale*, a. 404; p. 469).

⁴² Theod. Lector, ii. 64 (PG, 86 [i], col. 213). Cf. Cedrenus, i. 602; there seems to have been some ambiguity as to whether he died two days after a hunting accident or was buried two days after his death. Theophanes, A.M. 5942 (p. 103), gives 20 July, an obvious slip.

⁴³ *Supra*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Theod. Lector, i. 1 (col. 165).

⁴⁵ It speaks of "both" (ἀμφότεροι) sarcophagi as being of porphyry, when in fact three are in question. Versions C and R have correctly τρία.

⁴⁶ Evagrius, i. 22.

⁴⁷ Cedrenus, i. 607, says she died late in Marcian's reign, i.e. ca. 456, but Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. eccles.*, xiv. 50, places her death in the fourth year of Leo's reign, i.e. in 460/1.

MARCIAN (450–457). Died on 27 January (*probably correct*),⁴⁸ and was buried with his wife Pulcheria,⁴⁹ daughter of Arcadius, in a porphyry block in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*).⁵⁰ He reigned 7 years.

LEO I (457–474), the Great, known as Macellus. Died 30 (or 31) January⁵¹ (30 Jan. *probably correct*), leaving as emperor his grandson Leo II. He was buried in a block of green Thessalian marble (*virtually correct*)⁵² in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Verina was buried with him, but much later (*unconfirmed, but probably correct*).⁵³ He reigned 18 years.

The sources are in complete disaccord over the dates of Leo I's death and the coronation of Zeno, with whom Leo II went through the motions of associating himself as emperor a few days after his accession. The divergences may be set out as follows:

	DEATH OF LEO	CROWNING OF ZENO
Auctarium Havniense, a.474 ⁵⁴	18 Jan.	29 Jan.
John Malalas ⁵⁵	3 Feb.	9 Feb.
Theodorus Lector ⁵⁶	Jan.	—
Theophanes ⁵⁷	Jan.	—
<i>Necrologium</i>	30 or 31 Jan.	—

The most likely solution is that Malalas wrote 3 *non. Feb.*, by mistake, for 3 *kal. Feb.*, which would make the correct date 30 January, in agreement with one of the two alternative readings in the *Necrologium*. But there can be no certainty about it, and there is no obvious explanation for the dates in the *Auctarium Havniense*.

ZENO (474–491). Died 9 April (*correct*),⁵⁸ and was buried in a *labrum* of Thessalian marble (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. A voice was heard from his tomb for three days afterwards crying “Have pity on me,” but because he was hated by his wife Arthemisia (*rectè Ariadne*) and by the people, they refrained from opening his tomb (*popular legend*).⁵⁹ He reigned 17 years.⁶⁰

⁴⁸ This is the sole authority for the date, but it is known to have been between 26 January, when he was still alive (Theodorus Lector, i. 7, in PG, 86 [i], col. 169), and 7 February, when Leo was proclaimed emperor (*Chron. Pasch.*, a. 457; p. 592). The date 30 April, given by Theophanes, A.M. 5949 (p. 109), is impossible and not easy to explain.

⁴⁹ She died in the second year of the reign, i.e. 451 (Theophanes, A.M. 5945; p. 106). The day is unknown.

⁵⁰ So Cedrenus, i. 607, as well as the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*.

⁵¹ 30 Jan. in MS D, 31 (*die ultimo*) in V^a, date omitted in S.

⁵² The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* distinguishes between the green *hieracites*—a stone the color of a hawk's neck (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 60)—of which Leo's sarcophagus was composed and the green Thessalian stone of several other sarcophagi, but it is easy to understand that they should have been confused. The phrase *pila ... in exprusio lapide* presumably translated something like λάρναξ ἐκ πρασίνου λίθου; cf. Leo Grammaticus, p. 115: ἐν λάρνακι πρασίνη, whence Cedrenus, ii. 615.

⁵³ Verina died in 484 in the fortress of Cherris in Isauria, having been one of the ringleaders in successive revolts against Zeno. Her burial in her husband's tomb cannot have occurred before Zeno's capture of the rebel stronghold in 488.

⁵⁴ *Chron. min.*, i. 307.

⁵⁵ Bonn ed., p. 376.

⁵⁶ ii. 65 (PG, 86 [i], col. 215).

⁵⁷ A.M. 5966 (p. 120).

⁵⁸ Malalas, p. 391; Theophanes, A.M. 6010 (p. 164).

⁵⁹ This story of Zeno's burial alive and of Ariadne's refusal to open the tomb is not found in any of the earlier historians, hostile as they are to Zeno's memory, but appears in Cedrenus, ii. 622, and Zonaras, xiv. 2. 32–35 (Bonn ed., iii 132–3).

⁶⁰ None of the sources assigns any tomb to Zeno's son, the short-lived Leo II (474). Presumably he was buried with either Leo I or Zeno.

ANASTASIUS I (491–518), who was nicknamed Dicoros.⁶¹ Died 8 July (*correct*),⁶² having been struck by lightning. Buried in a *labrum* of porphyry (*not quite correct*) with his wife Ariadne, who predeceased him,⁶³ in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). He reigned 27 years.

Anastasius died on the night of 8/9 July during a violent thunderstorm, but because of fright (so Malalas) or because the palace was actually struck is not clear. The later sources assume that he was himself struck by lightning. The assertion that his sarcophagus was of porphyry is certainly wrong, but that it was of some quite unfamiliar type of marble is shown by the variant readings of the *Catalogus*, where it is described as 'Ακυτιανός (L), 'Ανακητιανός (C), or Νικητιανή (R). Yet another variant occurs in Leo Grammaticus and Cedrenus: ἐν λάρνακι [λίθινῃ] 'Ακυντιανῇ.⁶⁴ Downey follows Riske in interpreting this as "Aquitanian," which is probably correct, for we know that at precisely this period the output of Saint-Béat and other Pyrenean quarries was very large and that "Aquitanian" sarcophagi found great favor all over southern Gaul.⁶⁵ It is difficult to imagine how one would have found its way to Constantinople, but there are references to "Celtic" marble being used in Hagia Sophia.

JUSTIN I (518–527). Died 5 August (*rectè 1 August*), and was buried with his wife Euphemia, who predeceased him (*unconfirmed, but probably correct*), on the right-hand side of the church of the Holy Apostles in the porphyry *labrum* in which Justinian was placed, so that he did not take that of Constantine the Great (*meaning uncertain*).⁶⁶ He reigned 9 years.

The date of Justin's death, as given in the *Catalogus*, must be incorrect, for the *Chronicon Paschale* gives Sunday, 1 August, and the day of the week agrees with that of the month.⁶⁷ Possibly the error arose from misreading the number of the indiction, which was the 5th, as the day of the month. The major difficulty, however, is over the tomb, for the *Necrologium* here is in flat contradiction not only to the *Catalogus sepulchrum*, which is itself not free from error, but also to such narrative sources as allude to it. The meaning of the Latin in the *Necrologium* is also far from clear. The statements of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* and the *Necrologium* can be set out as follows:

Catalogus sepulchrorum, text L only

a. Justin and his wife *Sophia* were buried in the monastery of St. Thomas,⁶⁸ originally in a tomb of green Thessalian marble; subsequently they were reburied in the same monastery in a

⁶¹ *Supra*, p. 20, note 62. The nickname is explained by John Malalas, Bonn ed., p. 392.

⁶² The precise date is not given by any Byzantine chronicler, but Justin I became emperor on the 9th (*Chron. Pasch.*, a. 518; p. 611) and Anastasius died the night before his successor's election (Const. Porphy., *De Ceremon.*, i. 93; p. 426ff.). Stein, (*Hist. du Bas Empire*, 2, pp. 216–7 and 220, note 2) argues, but I think wrongly, that it was the night of the 9th/10th, not the 8th/9th.

⁶³ She died in 515 (*Chron. Marcellini*, s.a., in *Chron. min.*, ii. 99). Leo Grammaticus (p. 120) and Cedrenus (i. 636) mention the fact that she and Anastasius were buried in the same tomb.

⁶⁴ *Locc. cit.*

⁶⁵ J. B. Ward Perkins, "A Carved Marble Fragment at Riom (Puy-de-Dôme) and the Chronology of the Aquitanian Sarcophagi," *Antiquaries Journal*, 40 (1960), 25–34, arguing against the view of Jean Hubert and Mlle Denise Fossard that they are mainly seventh century.

⁶⁶ *Sepultus est in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum, in parte dextra, in labro porfiretico, quo positus est ipse Iustinianus imperator, pro eo quod non capiebatur pila ipsius Cesaris Magni Constantini*. MS D has *compositus* and V^a *posuit* for *positus est*, D has *capiebat corpus eius pila* for *capiebatur pila ipsius*, and V^a and S have *visari* for *cesaris*; so it is clear that the copyists were equally unable to understand what was meant.

⁶⁷ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 527 (p. 617). So also Malalas, p. 424, giving a length of reign agreeing with the figure of 9 years 22 days assigned to Justin by the latter. The *Vita S. Sabae* by Cyril of Scythopolis gives August 2 (E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. altchristlichen Literatur, 49, 2 [1939], 170).

⁶⁸ On the monastery, see Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 257–60.

mean and narrow tomb of Proconnesian or Picrimian stone which bore the legend "The coffin (γλοσσόκομος) of Alexander the Domesticus."⁶⁹

δ. Michael III was buried in a tomb of green Thessalian marble, which had formerly belonged to Justinian the Great, brought by Leo VI from the monastery of the Augusta (this was the same as that of St. Thomas).⁷⁰

Necrologium

Justin I and Euphemia were buried in a porphyry tomb on the right-hand side of the Church of the Holy Apostles.

The problems involved were discussed by Reiske, in his notes to the *Book of Ceremonies*, and, more recently, by Vasiliev⁷¹ and Downey.⁷² Vasiliev's analysis is largely invalidated through his having overlooked the more important of the two references in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. Reiske amended *Sophia* to *Euphemia* and *Justinian* to *Justin* (I), since Justin II and Sophia on the one hand, and Justinian on the other, are known to have been buried in the mausoleum of Justinian, while there is independent evidence that Justin I and Euphemia were buried together in a sarcophagus of green Thessalian stone in the monastery of the Augusta.⁷³ Downey makes the ingenious suggestion that there might have been two sarcophagi in this monastery. One was occupied by Justin I and Euphemia; the other had been intended for Justinian but never came into use owing to his having subsequently constructed a new mausoleum in the church of the Holy Apostles. This solution would save the accuracy of text L of the *Catalogus* in referring to 'Ιουστινιανοῦ instead of 'Ιουστίνου but would render quite unintelligible the transfer of the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia to the sarcophagus of Alexander the Domesticus. For this reason I find it unacceptable; the confusion between "Justinian" and "Justin," like that between "Constantine" and "Constantius," is so common as to require no explanation. It seems clear that Justin I and his wife were buried together in the convent of St. Euphemia in a tomb of green Thessalian marble, but that they were dispossessed of this in favor of Michael III when Leo VI succeeded his father in 886.

The further assertion of the *Necrologium* that Justin was buried in a porphyry sarcophagus on the right-hand side of the church of the Holy Apostles is probably erroneous. It is unlikely that some late tenth- or eleventh-century sovereign would have thought of rendering justice to Justin I and his wife by transferring them from their mean and narrow tomb to the Holy Apostles, and more unlikely still that there would have been a vacant or only partially filled porphyry sarcophagus in which they could be interred. But I see no explanation either for the error or for what is meant by the garbled reference to Justinian and the tomb of Constantine the Great.

JUSTINIAN (527–565). Died 3 November (*recte 14 November*),⁷⁴ having caused Hagia Sophia to be built, and was buried in a *labrum* of a stone which is called *iritionos* from Bithynia⁷⁵ and which stands in the great *sepulchrum*⁷⁶ which he constructed in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Theodora is buried separately in a sarcophagus of Hierapolitan⁷⁷ stone, of which "the Vatican" of the Holy Apostles is also made.⁷⁸ She died 18 years before her husband (i.e. in 548: *correct*).⁷⁹ He reigned 39 years.

⁶⁹ *De Ceremon.*, ii. 42 (p. 646). What happened to Alexander's own remains?

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 642.

⁷¹ *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 414–7.

⁷² "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 48–51.

⁷³ Leo Grammaticus, p. 124; Cedrenus, i. 642; burial there mentioned in Πότρια, iii. 183 (ed. Preger, ii. 273).

⁷⁴ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 566 (p. 688), and other sources. This is the day on which his festival is celebrated by the Orthodox Church.

⁷⁵ The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* also found difficulty over the material, describing it as "an unusual foreign stone, in color between Bithynian and Chalcedonian, something like the stone of Ostrite."

⁷⁶ Here used in the sense of "mausoleum."

⁷⁷ 'Ιερσπολίτης was transcribed as *Ierapolitis* and then miscopied as *ierapditis*, which is the reading of the MS.

⁷⁸ *unde est ipsum baticanum Sanctorum Apostolorum*. I have no idea what *baticanum* was intended to mean.

⁷⁹ She died of cancer on 28 June 548 (John Malalas, p. 484), or perhaps on the 27th (Agnellus, *Lib. pontif. eccles. Ravennatis*, chap. 62, in MGH, *Script. rev. Lang.*, p. 322).

JUSTIN II (565–578), known as *Bizancius*.⁸⁰ Died on 5 October (*correct*)⁸¹ and was buried in a *labrum* of white Proconnesian marble (*correct*) in the mausoleum constructed by Justinian in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Sophia, who died a year after him (*incorrect*),⁸² is buried separately (*correct*).⁸³ He reigned 13 years.

TIBERIUS II (578–582). Died 12 August (*rectè 14 August*), and was buried in a block of Proconnesian marble in the mausoleum of Constantine (*incorrect*) in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). He reigned 20 years (7 years in one MS, both figures—xx and vii—being errors for iii).

The circumstances of Tiberius' death are given very precisely by the *Chronicon Paschale*.⁸⁴ Having fallen ill and feeling his end approaching, he created Maurice Tiberius Caesar on 5 August and Emperor on 13 August, marrying him at the same time to his daughter Constantina. He died on the 14th in the suburb of Hebdomon, and from there his body was brought to the city, where on the following day it was laid to rest in the church of the Holy Apostles.

Tiberius II was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles, in company with his wife Anastasia who died in 594,⁸⁵ but the material and position of his sarcophagus are something of a mystery. According to Cedrenus it was of green marble and stood in the ἡρώδων, which in the context seems to imply the mausoleum of Justinian;⁸⁶ according to the *Necrologium* it was of Proconnesian marble, which was white, and stood in the mausoleum of Constantine. The silence of the Greek versions of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* makes it unlikely that it stood in either of the mausolea; that of Constantine, indeed, can be definitely excluded, since it was not in active use at the time. Presumably it stood in the main body of the church, but in view of the conflict between the sources it is impossible to say of what marble it consisted.

MAURICE (582–602). Deposed on 25 November (*correct*) by the tyrant Phocas and beheaded with his sons at the harbor of Eutropius (*correct*).⁸⁷ Buried in the sanctuary of the martyr St. Mamas which bears the name of Pharasmanes.⁸⁸ His wife Constantina . . .⁸⁹ He reigned 20 years.

PHOCAS (602–610). Put to death on 1 October (*rectè 5 October*) by Heraclius. His body was burnt in the Forum Tauri (*correct*) and the ashes thrown into a common grave in the Pelagion (*unconfirmed, but probable*). He reigned 8 years.

⁸⁰ *Justinus, qui dictus est Bizancius*. This nickname does not appear in the regular sources.

⁸¹ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 578 (p. 689).

⁸² She was still alive in March 601 (*supra*, p. 31, note 108).

⁸³ Her tomb, also of white Proconnesian marble, faced that of Justin across the eastern arm of the cross of the mausoleum, their relative positions being given by Mesarites. Leo Grammaticus (p. 136) and Cedrenus (ii. 686) mention the white marble tombs of husband and wife.

⁸⁴ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 582 (p. 690).

⁸⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6085 (p. 271).

⁸⁶ Cedrenus, i. 691.

⁸⁷ The uprising in Constantinople against Maurice broke out on the 22nd, he fled with his family on the night of the 22nd/23rd, Phocas was crowned on the 23rd in the Hebdomon and paraded the city in triumph on the 25th, and Maurice and his sons were murdered on the 27th (*Chron. Pasch.*, a. 602; pp. 693–4; Theophanes, A.M. 6094; pp. 289–90; the heading to Book XIII of the *Registrum* of Gregory the Great (MGH, *Epist.*, ii. 364–5) gives the date and place of the coronation and the names of Maurice's sons). The *Chronicon Paschale* simply says that the Emperor and his family were put to death at Chalcedon, but Theophanes and other sources mention the Eutropian harbor.

⁸⁸ The *Faras manus* of the *Necrologium* is a rendering of Φαράσμανης, that of the founder of the monastery, which was apparently enlarged and further endowed by Gordia, a sister of Maurice (Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, p. 326). For the burial of Maurice and his family in the monastery, see the further details in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, ii. 42 (Bonn ed., i. 647); Πάτρια, iii. 185 (ed. Preger, ii. 274); Leo Grammaticus, pp. 144–5; Cedrenus, i. 706–8. The last two give the metrical epitaph which accompanied the tomb of Constantina and which is reprinted by Cougny in *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, 3 (Paris, 1890), 214–5 (*Appendix nova*, ii, 732). For the transfer of three sarcophagi from St. Mamas to the Myrelaion, see *supra*, p. 28.

⁸⁹ The original text probably went on to say that she was buried in the same church.

According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, Phocas was executed on 6 October, it being the second day of the week.⁹⁰ The 6th, however, was a Tuesday, and the sequence of events following the arrival of Heraclius on the 3rd⁹¹ indicates that the correct date was Monday, 5 October. The date in the *Necrologium* must be a copyist's error. The Pelagion was a recognized place of burial for executed criminals. The bodies of the ex-Patriarch Constantine and Peter the Stylite were disposed of there after their execution by Constantine V.⁹²

HERACLIUS (610–641). Died 11 January (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*) of the disease of brikia (i.e. βρέξις), in other words dysentery (*really dropsy*), and was buried in a block of white Proconnesian marble (*nearly correct*) in the mausoleum of Justinian (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Eudocia is buried in another tomb (*correct*).⁹³ He reigned 30 years.

The two chief sources for the date of Heraclius' death are Nicephorus and Theophanes. Nicephorus says that he died after a reign of 30 years 4 months 6 days,⁹⁴ which, reckoning from 5 October 610, would work out at 11 February 641. Theophanes places the event sometime in March, after a reign of 30 years 10 months.⁹⁵ The last two dates are in themselves contradictory, for a reign from October 610 to March 641 would be one of only 30 years 5 months, and the emendation of ' to ε' is not a very satisfactory one. The date implied by Nicephorus is consequently the one generally accepted by scholars.

The text of the *Catalogus* raises another possibility. The day of the month is the same as that given by Nicephorus, but the month is different. The usual error is forward where the kalends are concerned but backward for the nones and ides. A scribe reading a date such as *x kal. Aug.* would forget to make the adjustment for July and reproduce it as 23 August, but if he read *iv non. Aug.* or *v. id. Aug.*, he might insert an uncalled-for adjustment and reproduce it as 2 or 9 July. It seems likely that what has happened here is that the date was *iii id. Ian.*, i.e. 11 January, but that Nicephorus mistakenly adjusted forward and gave 11 February. The date given in the *Catalogus* for Heraclius Constantine's death supports this view, for it fits in with 11 January as the date of Heraclius' death but not with 11 February, and so does the most probable emendation of the erroneous 30 years 10 months of Theophanes, for if we read γ' instead of ' we arrive at 30 years 3 months, i.e. January 641.

There is a slight divergence between the *Catalogus sepulchorum* and the *Necrologium* regarding the material of Heraclius' tomb, the one describing it as "white Docimian, onyx," the other as "white Proconnesian." Docimian stone was normally variegated,⁹⁶ while Proconnesian was white. Presumably the tomb was made of an unusual variety of Docimian, but its color led the compiler of the *Necrologium* to equate it with ordinary white marble.

CONSTANTINE III (i.e. Heraclius Constantine) (641), son of Heraclius. Died 20 April (*unconfirmed, but probable*), and was buried in a block of white Proconnesian marble (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles, where his father Heraclius is also buried. His

⁹⁰ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 610 (pp. 699–701). The horrid details tended to multiply with the passage of time—or perhaps only varied with the taste of the chronicler; cf. Nicephorus, pp. 4–5, with Cedrenus, ii. 713.

⁹¹ Theophanes, A.M. 6102 (p. 298), places the arrival of Heraclius on the 4th, but the *Chronicon Paschale* is a contemporary and very reliable source.

⁹² Theophanes, A.M. 6259 (p. 442; cf. also pp. 420, 437).

⁹³ *Supra*, p. 31, note 112.

⁹⁴ Nicephorus, p. 27. Nicephorus adds the curious detail that the tomb was left open, by the Emperor's orders, for three days after his burial. Did his fear of being buried alive result from a knowledge of the story of Zeno's fate, or did it give rise to this? The account is repeated by most of the later writers, so it was evidently unusual and not a regular part of the funeral ceremonies.

⁹⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6132 (p. 341). Cedrenus, ii. 752, gives the date as 11 March, while repeating at the same time the manifestly erroneous figure of 30 years 10 months for the length of the reign.

⁹⁶ Strabo, viii. 12. 14; ix. 5. 16.

wife Gregoria,⁹⁷ daughter of the patrician Nicetas, was alive at the time (*unconfirmed*). He reigned 120 days (*rectè 103 days*).

There is no other source giving the exact date of Heraclius Constantine's death, but Nicephorus gives the length of the reign as 103 days,⁹⁸ and modern scholars, reckoning it from the supposed date of Heraclius' death on 11 February, generally give it as 24, 25, or 26 May.⁹⁹ If we calculate from 11 January to 20 April, however, including both the first and last days as the Byzantines frequently did, we have a total of 100 days, which is so close to Nicephorus' figure that it seems likely that it is correct. The figure 120 would then be a scribal error—πκ' for πγ'. Nicephorus' figure is written out in words, which increases the likelihood of its being correct.

*CONSTANS II (Constantine) (641–668).*¹⁰⁰ Died 5 November (*incorrect*) by violence at Syracuse, a city of Sicily (*correct*), and was buried in the monastery of St. Gregory in the same city. He reigned 20 years (*rectè 27 years*).

The complications arising from the fact that Heraclius' son (Heraclius Constantine), grandson (Constans II) and great-grandson (Constantine IV) were all named Constantine have been already alluded to. The date of Constans' murder at Syracuse can be fixed as 15 July 668. The date is given by no known Greek source, but the *Vita Vitaliani* in the *Liber Pontificalis*¹⁰¹ dates it 15 July of the second indiction, i.e. 669, and though the last is evidently a slip—it must have been the first indiction—the author is so well informed about Constans' doings in the west that 15 July can hardly be an error. Most modern authorities¹⁰² reject it, however, and date the murder in September or October, their grounds being that the acts of the sixth General Council (680–1) are all dated in Constantine IV's 26th year—or rather his 26th post-consulship—and that this must consequently have started between 16 September and 7 November 668.

These two dates, however, those of the murder of Constans II and the accession of Constantine IV, are not the same thing. Regnal years were chiefly important for the dating of documents, and these would have continued to be dated by the regnal years of Constans II until the news of his death reached the capital. It would only have created confusion if Constantine IV had then tried to back-date his accession to the day of his father's death. The obvious solution was to start the reign, from the technical, legal point of view, on the day of his proclamation at Constantinople as sole Augustus,¹⁰³ and travelling was so irregular even during the summer—July and August are the months of the Etesian winds—that this may well not have taken place till the autumn. There is, therefore, no serious objection to accepting the date 15 July 668 as that of the death of Constans II.

This does not explain why the *Necrologium* should give 5 November. It is scarcely likely that it can represent the date of Constantine IV's formal accession, for, although it would be compatible with the date formulae of the Council of 680–1, one can scarcely suppose that the news of Con-

⁹⁷ Her name appears in the MSS as *Glygoria*, which Cessi wrongly amends to *Glyceria*. The correct form Gregoria (Γρηγορία) is given in Nicephorus, pp. 9, 21. Some later historians call her Anastasia (e.g. Leo Grammaticus, pp. 155–6) and record her burial beside her husband, but this is due to a confusion between the tombs of Constantine III and Constantine IV.

⁹⁸ Nicephorus, p. 29. For other figures, see J. Kaestner, *De imperio Constantini III* (Jena diss. Leipzig, 1907), 27–8.

⁹⁹ The variations depend partly on uncertainties as to whether to place Heraclius' death on 11 February or a day or two later and whether to begin counting with the last day of the preceding reign or the first of the new one.

¹⁰⁰ He is wrongly described as *filius Eraclii, nepos Pogonatis*; cf. *supra*, p. 32.

¹⁰¹ Ed. L. Duchesne, 1 (Paris, 1886), p. 344.

¹⁰² Except Duchesne (*loc. cit.*), and Grégoire "Notules épigraphiques. I. Une inscription au nom de Constantin III, ou la liquidation des partis à Byzance," *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), 167–70, where he argues against Brooks (*infra*, note 105) that Constantine IV really undertook an expedition to Sicily after his accession.

¹⁰³ Cf. the prolongation of Constantine the Great's "reign" after his death on 22 May 337 to the proclamation of his sons as Augusti on 9 September, though the reason for this was different.

stans' murder would have taken nearly four months¹⁰⁴ to reach Constantinople from Sicily at a relatively favorable time of year. If it were true that Constantine IV brought back his father's body from Sicily for burial at Constantinople, one might perhaps assume that it was the date of the funeral, but Theophanes' account of the expedition of Constantine IV in the autumn of 668 appears to be mythical,¹⁰⁵ and there seems little reason to accept the statement of Cedrenus that the body of Constans II was recovered and buried in the same tomb as his father.¹⁰⁶ The probability is that he was buried, as the *Necrologium* alleges, at Syracuse,¹⁰⁷ and the date 5 November must be left unexplained.

The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* records in the mausoleum of Constantine the presence of the tomb of Fausta, wife of Constans II, of green Thessalian marble. This is the only evidence regarding her name that we possess.

CONSTANTINE IV (668–685).¹⁰⁸ Died on 10 July (*unconfirmed*), and was buried with his wife Anastasia (*correct*)¹⁰⁹ in a block of Thessalian marble in the mausoleum of Justinian (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. He reigned 17 years.

Constantine's death is usually placed in September 685 on the ground that the sources attribute to him a reign of 17 years,¹¹⁰ which is reckoned from his supposed accession in September 668. Since such a figure can be taken only as a round number, there is no objection to accepting the date 10 July given by the *Catalogus*.

Anastasia long outlived her husband, since she was still alive in 711, when her son Justinian II was put to death.¹¹¹

JUSTINIAN II (685–695, 705–711) Rhinotmetos (*nasu trunco*). Died on 24 November (*more probably 4 November*), having been deposed by Leontius and subsequently restored to the throne. He was killed at Damatra by Elias, a citizen of Cherson (*correct*), and his body was thrown into the sea.¹¹² He reigned with his wife Anastasia (*incorrect*) 16 years (i.e. *not counting his period of exile as part of his reign*).

The only indication of the date of Justinian's death given in published sources is the statement in the *Liber Pontificalis* that the news arrived in Rome three months after the return of Pope Constantine from Constantinople. Since the latter event is dated precisely as 24 October of the

¹⁰⁴ This was quite possible in winter. The Emperor Maurice was murdered on 27 November 602, but Pope Gregory I was still writing as if he were alive in February 603, and it was not till 25 April that Phocas was formally proclaimed Emperor at Rome and the pope wrote to congratulate him on his accession (*Registrum*, xiii. 26; xiii. 1, 34; MGH, *Epist.*, ii. 391–2; 364–5, 396–7). The journey in summer should have taken between one and two months according to the chances of the weather.

¹⁰⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6160 (p. 352), and derivative sources. Cf. E. W. Brooks, "The Sicilian Expedition of Constantine IV," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 17 (1908), 455–9.

¹⁰⁶ Cedrenus, i. 763: he was buried μετὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. The confusion in the *Catalogus* regarding the identities of the various Constantines is so great that no serious argument can be based on its statements.

¹⁰⁷ The existence of a monastery of St. Gregory at Syracuse seems unknown to the Italian records, but the Saracen occupation of Sicily meant the end of so many ecclesiastical establishments that this need occasion no surprise.

¹⁰⁸ He is described, quite wrongly, as *filius Pogonis*; cf. *supra*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁹ The burial of Constantine and Anastasia together in a single tomb in the mausoleum of Justinian is recorded by Leo Grammaticus, pp. 155–6, though he—or rather his source, Symeon Logothete—assumes that the "Constantine" in question is the son of Heraclius. Elsewhere (p. 162) he identifies the Emperor correctly and records that the tomb was of Thessalian marble. Cedrenus, ii. 753, makes the same error as Leo Grammaticus, but locates the tomb simply in the church of the Holy Apostles, without specifying the mausoleum of Justinian. Nicephorus (p. 36), a better source than either, alludes to the burial of Constantine IV in the church, but does not mention his wife.

¹¹⁰ E.g. Theophanes, A.M. 6161, 6177 (pp. 352, 361).

¹¹¹ *Infra*, note 117.

¹¹² Theophanes, A.M. 6203 (pp. 380–1) and Nicephorus (p. 47) record simply that Justinian was beheaded and his head sent round the provinces as proof that the tyrant was dead. His son Tiberius, who was murdered in the church of Blachernae, was buried in that of SS. Cosmas and Damian (*supra*, p. 33, note 120).

tenth indiction, i.e. 711, the news must have arrived towards the end of January 712.¹¹³ Travel in winter was so irregular that this would be compatible with Justinian's death any time in October¹¹⁴ or November, so that the date given here would be acceptable, but it seems that the original Greek text read 4 November, not 24 November.^{114a} The date 11 December sometimes given in modern works is without justification.

Justinian married first a certain Eudocia,¹¹⁵ who evidently died before 695 and was buried separately in the mausoleum of Justinian, and subsequently the sister of the Khazar Khan, who was appropriately baptized under the name of Theodora and who is several times mentioned in the sources.¹¹⁶ The confusion of Theodora with Anastasia in the *Necrologium* may be due to the fact that it was Justinian's mother Anastasia who endeavored vainly to save the life of his son Tiberius during the massacre of 711,¹¹⁷ but it is equally possible that we have to do with a scribal error, the end of the entry for Constantine IV (*cum uxore sua Anastasia. Regnavit ann. 17*) being accidentally repeated for Justinian II. In the latter event, the length of reign would involve an error of 1 year, i.e. 16 instead of 17 years.

LEONTIUS (695–698). Died on 15 February (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*), being put to death by Justinian together with Apsimar.¹¹⁸ Their bodies were thrown into the sea, but were recovered and buried in a church on the island of Protê (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*). He reigned 3 years.

Justinian's restoration in 705 took place, if the next entry is correct, on 21 August, and it is usually assumed that the famous scene in the Hippodrome and the subsequent execution of Leontius and Tiberius Apsimar¹¹⁹ followed almost immediately. But Tiberius had escaped from the city and was not immediately captured; so it may well be that the humiliation of the two usurpers was reserved for the usual consular games in January. Their execution therefore may well have taken place in February 706.

TIBERIUS APSIMAR (698–705). Deposed on 21 August (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*) by Justinian II and slain in the Hippodrome¹²⁰ in company with Leontius. Their bodies were thrown into the sea, but were recovered and buried on the island of Protê (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*). He reigned 7 years.

We have no statement in the existing sources as to the precise length of Tiberius II's reign or the date of Justinian II's restoration. The latter is generally placed in the summer of 705; so 21 August has every appearance of being correct.

PHILIPPICUS BARDANES¹²¹ (711–714). Died on 20 January (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*), having been blinded by Theodore the Patrician and Theodore the Strategos (*incorrect*).¹²²

¹¹³ *Vita Constantini*, chap. 7. 8, in Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i. 391.

¹¹⁴ Nicephorus also refers to an event early in October as shortly preceding Justinian's downfall (p. 45).

^{114a} See *infra*, Additional Note, p. 62.

¹¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 32, note 117.

¹¹⁶ E.g. Theophanes, A.M. 6196, 6198 (pp. 373, 375); Nicephorus, pp. 40, 41, 43.

¹¹⁷ Theophanes, A.M. 6203 (p. 380). According to Zonaras, xiv. 25. 27 (Bonn ed., iii. 242), Tiberius' mother Theodora was already dead, but this may be merely a deduction for the fact that it was Anastasia and not Theodora who tried to save the boy's life. If she died before Justinian it is difficult to explain why no tomb for her is recorded.

¹¹⁸ The grammar is imperfect, but this is the sense.

¹¹⁹ Theophanes, A.M. 6198 (p. 375); Nicephorus, p. 42.

¹²⁰ Not quite correct. Both Theophanes and Nicephorus state that after the scene in the Hippodrome they were subsequently put to death in the Cynegion.

¹²¹ Spelt *Guardarius* in the Latin text, the *r* being a copyist's error and the *gu* the *v* of the Armenian *Vardan*.

¹²² The blinding was carried out as the result of a conspiracy between the patrician George Boraphus, Count of the Opsician theme, and the patrician Theodore (Theophanes, A.M. 6205; p. 383; Nicephorus, p. 49).

Buried in the monastery of Dalmatoi (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*).¹²³ He reigned 1 year and a half (*incorrect*).

The blinding of Philippicus was carried out on the day before Whitsunday, A.M. 6205. It is, consequently, usually given as 3 June 713. Theophanes, however, fixes the length of the reign as 2 years 9 months,¹²⁴ which would put Philippicus' deposition well into 714.¹²⁵ Since the *Anno Mundi* dating of Theophanes is very uncertain at this period, it is more likely that the correct date was the Saturday in Whitsun week of 714, i.e. 26 May, and that the 2 years 9 months was not reckoned from the death of Justinian II—this would be only 2 years 6 months—but from the date when Philippicus was hailed as emperor at Kherson earlier in the summer. On this supposition, the revolt of the army would have occurred towards the end of August.

ANASTASIUS II (ARTEMIUS) (714-715). Deposed 1 June (*probably correct*) by Theodosius III of Adramyttium, and exiled to Salonika (*correct*), but subsequently beheaded by Leo III¹²⁶ (*correct*).¹²⁷ His body was later brought to Constantinople by the Empress Irene, and buried in a tomb of green marble in the mausoleum of Justinian, in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). He reigned 2 years.

The length of Anastasius' reign is given by Theophanes as 1 year 3 months,¹²⁸ which, reckoning from 26 May 714, would place his deposition about August or September 715. A possible explanation is that 1 June is really the date of Anastasius' death, not his deposition.¹²⁹

This is the only source that gives the name of Anastasius' wife,¹³⁰ though the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* records her burial as well as that of her husband in the mausoleum.

THEODOSIUS III (715-716) of Adramyttium. Deposed on 24 July (*incorrect*) by Leo¹³¹ the Isaurian and tonsured in company with his son. The latter became bishop of Ephesus, and when he (Theodosius) died he was buried in the church of St. Philip, in the old city by the harbor, where miracles were performed at his tomb. He reigned 1 year.

Theophanes reckoned the precise length of Leo the Isaurian's reign as 24 years 2 months 25 days, from 25 March of the fifteenth indiction to 18 June of the ninth indiction.¹³² Such a date for the beginning of the reign, whether one takes it as 25 March 716 or 25 March 717, disagrees with that of 27 July which is given here. It is generally assumed that 25 March marks the entry of Leo into Constantinople and his formal crowning,¹³³ but it is not impossible that the reign was dated from his being hailed as emperor by the troops, and that 24 July was that of the abdication of Theodosius III and Leo's occupation of the capital.

¹²³ Justinian had been confined in the Dalmatoi monastery in 695, and so had Leontius in 698 (Nicephorus, p. 40). Janin (*op. cit.*, p. 87) notes that at this period it was apparently regarded as a suitable place of detention for politicians who had fallen into disgrace.

¹²⁴ A.M. 6207 (p. 386).

¹²⁵ Nicephorus (p. 49) places it in the second year of his reign, which is to some extent confirmed by the fact that no coins later than Year II have been recorded.

¹²⁶ *a Leo* (sic!) *sabro*, i. e. *Savro*, "the Isaurian."

¹²⁷ Theophanes, A.M. 6211 (p. 400); Nicephorus, pp. 55-6. Anastasius had been enticed into assuming the leadership of a revolt against Leo. He was beheaded in the Cynegion after being exhibited in the Hippodrome.

¹²⁸ A.M. 6207 (p. 386).

¹²⁹ It is possible, indeed, that this is intended by the somewhat erratic grammar of the text, the first part of the sentence being a subordinate clause, as the scribe of one of the MSS evidently first took it to be. Nicephorus seems to imply, however, that the execution of Anastasius occurred only very shortly before the crowning of Constantine V as co-emperor on Easter Day (25 March) 720.

¹³⁰ The *Necrologium*, it is true, does not say positively that the Empress Irene who secured his burial was his wife, but it is reasonable to assume that this is what is intended.

¹³¹ *Leoncius* in the MS.

¹³² Theophanes, A.M. 6232 (p. 412). This figure seems preferable to the 25 years 3 months 14 days given in the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus (ed. de Boor, p. 100), but that such divergent figures should be given by usually reliable sources makes it clear that Byzantine historians in the ninth century were themselves very inadequately informed on the matter.

¹³³ Nicephorus (p. 52) describes the event but gives no date.

Theophanes notes simply that Theodosius and his son abdicated and entered the Church,¹³⁴ but Cedrenus declares that they retired to Ephesus and that when the ex-Emperor died he was buried in the church of St. Philip, where miracles were said to be worked at his tomb, which bore the odd inscription "Health" (ΥΓΕΙΑ).¹³⁵ The *Necrologium*, however, is correct in saying that the son became bishop of Ephesus, for as "Theodosius of Ephesus, son of Apsimar" he presided over the Iconoclastic Synod of Constantinople held in 754¹³⁶ and for this offence was anathematized by the assembled Fathers at the Seventh Oecumenical Council in 787.¹³⁷

LEO III THE ISAURIAN (716–741). Died 18 July (*rectè* 18 June),¹³⁸ having reigned with Theodosius,¹³⁹ and was buried in a block of white Proconnesian marble in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*).¹⁴⁰ He reigned with his wife Maria¹⁴¹ for 23 years.

CONSTANTINE V (741–775), known as Caballinus or Copronymus. Died on 14 September (*correct*).¹⁴² He denied the Son of God and destroyed His icon and burnt many images. He was buried in a tomb of Thessalian marble in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). Later his body and sarcophagus were ejected from the church by the Empress Theodora on the advice of the Patriarch Methodius (843–7) and burnt in the square which is known as the Amastrian (*Mastrianum*, i.e. Ἀμαστριανόν), since he had burnt the relics (*lípsana*, i.e. λείψανα) and images of many saints, and the ashes were cast into the sea. His three wives He reigned 24 years (*error for* 34).

The story of the destruction of the remains is given slightly differently in the various sources.¹⁴³ The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* does not mention Methodius, the destruction being attributed to Michael and Theodora; the body was burned, and the sarcophagus was broken up and used in the construction of the church of the Pharos. Cedrenus attributes it to Michael acting on the advice of the Caesar Bardas, and mentions the burning of the bones in the Amastrian Square, but he says nothing of the fate of the sarcophagus.¹⁴⁴ On one point of detail Cedrenus must be correct as against the *Necrologium*. Although one is naturally tempted to attribute such an event to the year of the restoration of images, and therefore to the patriarchate of Methodius (843–7), it cannot have taken place so early, for the *Vita Ignatii* records that after the Council of 861 the endeavors to make Ignatius subscribe his abdication included his being stretched out on the sarcophagus of Constantine V in the mausoleum of Constantine with heavy weights tied to his ankles.¹⁴⁵ Since the church of the Pharos was completed and consecrated while Bardas was

¹³⁴ Theophanes, A.M. 6208 (p. 390).

¹³⁵ Cedrenus, i. 787–8.

¹³⁶ Theophanes, A.M. 6245 (p. 427).

¹³⁷ Mansi, *Conc.*, xiii. 400, 416. Cf. M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I (Paris, 1740), 683–4. It is not quite clear, from either Cedrenus or the *Necrologium*, whether it was the father or the son who was buried in St. Philip's, but even if one admits that the tomb's reputation probably rested upon its inscription rather than its contents, one hesitates to allow that the latter can have been an Iconoclast bishop.

¹³⁸ Theophanes, A.M. 6232 (p. 412) gives 18 June, and it is clear that one or the other has made a slip. Since the Venetian text has two "July" entries following one another and the chronology of Theophanes at this period is detailed and carefully worked out, it is the latter that must be followed.

¹³⁹ This alludes to the fact that the two reigns overlapped for some months, while Leo was in revolt against his predecessor.

¹⁴⁰ His burial in the church is noted by Leo Grammaticus, p. 180, and Cedrenus, i. 802.

¹⁴¹ Probably the words have been displaced, and should be understood to mean that Maria—her name is independently attested, (e.g. Theophanes, A.M. 6211; p. 400)—was buried in the same tomb as her husband, for no separate tomb is mentioned for her in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*.

¹⁴² Theophanes, A.M. 6267 (p. 448).

¹⁴³ Cf. C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 180–1. The confusion created by the phrasing of the *Catalogus*, which wrongly implies that the sarcophagus was still in the mausoleum in the tenth century, has been noted *supra*, p. 34.

¹⁴⁴ Cedrenus, ii. 18, going back to Symeon the Logothete (Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 180, note 23).

¹⁴⁵ *Vita Ignatii*, in PG, 105, col. 521, whence Genesisius, p. 100.

Caesar,¹⁴⁶ i.e. between 12 April 864 and 21 April 866, Constantine's remains and his sarcophagus must have been destroyed between 861 and 866 and probably—since the church seems to have been dedicated in 864—between 861 and 864.

The phrase regarding Constantine's three wives, as it stands in the text, implies either that he burnt them as well as the relics and images or that their bodies were ejected from the church at the same time as his, but it must be a detached part of a sentence which probably went on to say that they were buried separately. The tombs of two of them are listed in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*.¹⁴⁷

LEO IV (775–780), known as the Khazar. Died 8 September (*correct*),¹⁴⁸ and was buried with his wife Irene (*incorrect*)¹⁴⁹ in a white sarcophagus (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. He reigned 6 years.

CONSTANTINE VI (780–797). Deposed and blinded by his mother Irene on 10 November (*incorrect, but explicable*). He died many years later (*exaggerated*),¹⁵⁰ and was buried on the island of Prinkipo (*incorrect, but explicable*). His second wife's name was Theodora (*rectè Theodota*). He reigned 6 years (*i.e. alone*).

Constantine was blinded on 19 August 797, not 10 November; the latter date, but in 790, was that of the coup d'état by which Constantine himself threw off his mother's yoke and became for a time his own master. The chronology is not easy to work out, since Theophanes' dates are inadequate and self-contradictory, but the *Chronographia* ascribed to Nicephorus provides a sequence of figures which allows one to ascertain the truth.¹⁵¹ Its lengths of reigns,¹⁵² when reckoned from the date of the death of Leo IV (8 September 780), give the following results:

	YEARS	MONTHS	DAYS	FROM 8 SEPT. 780
Constantine and Irene	10	2	2	10 Nov. 790
Constantine alone ¹⁵³	6	9	8	18 Aug. 797 (rectè 19 Aug.)
Irene alone	5	2	12	30 Oct. 802

Theophanes gives no precise date for the fall of Irene in 790,¹⁵⁴ but the date 10 November 790 implied by the *Chronographia* is now confirmed by the *Necrologium*. For the blinding of Constantine, Theophanes gives Saturday, the 15th "of the same month,"¹⁵⁵ which should, strictly speaking, be July, since the last event referred to had occurred on Wednesday 17 (?) July,¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁶ Mango, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–80, summarizing arguments set out at greater length in R. J. H. Jenkins and C. A. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9–10 (1956), 123–40.

¹⁴⁷ *Supra*, p. 34.

¹⁴⁸ Theophanes, A.M. 6272 (p. 453).

¹⁴⁹ See *infra*, "Irene."

¹⁵⁰ He was already dead in 806 (E. W. Brooks, "On the Date of the Death of Constantine the Son of Irene," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 9 (1900), 654–7, on the evidence of a letter of Theodore of Studium which must have been written before this date).

¹⁵¹ The essential discussion is that of Brooks, *art. cit.*, pp. 656–7.

¹⁵² Bonn ed., p. 753; ed. de Boor, p. 100.

¹⁵³ Constantine's "sole reign" from 790 to 797 is somewhat of an exaggeration, for Irene was restored to favor on 15 January 792 (Theophanes, A.M. 6284; p. 467), and she appears on the coins throughout the reign. But he was no longer technically a minor, and Irene no longer regent. Many Byzantine sources (e.g. Cedrenus) give Constantine a second series of regnal years dating from 790.

¹⁵⁴ All he says is that the revolt against Irene's dominance broke out in September and spread to the capital in October, when Irene was confined to her palace of Eleutherius on the Sea of Marmara (Theophanes, A.M. 6283; pp. 465–7). Evidently 10 November 790 marked the formal ending of the regency, though in law it should have ended long before, since Constantine was born on 14 January 771 (*ibid.*, A.M. 6262; p. 445).

¹⁵⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6289 (p. 472). De Boor amends the αὐτοῦ of the MSS to Αὐγούστου, but a simple oversight on the part of the writer seems more likely.

¹⁵⁶ 17 July was a Monday. It is not clear how the date should be amended. July 15th was in fact a Saturday, and it may well be that this is the source of Theophanes' errors.

but must in fact be August.¹⁵⁷ The 15th of August, however, was a Tuesday. Since an error in the day of the week is hardly likely, while 1θ' could easily be miscopied as 1ε', it is reasonable to fix the blinding on the night of 18th–19th August.

According to the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, Constantine was buried in the monastery of the Lady Euphrosyne, in company with his first wife Maria¹⁵⁸ and his daughters Irene and Euphrosyne (second wife of Michael II), in a tomb of Bithynian marble.¹⁵⁹ He was, therefore, buried in Constantinople, although he had been exiled to Prinkipo and presumably died there.

IRENE (797–802). Deposed on 30 October (*correct*)¹⁶⁰ and exiled to Lesbos, which is Mytilene, where she died (*correct*). Later she was buried in a convent which she had founded on the island of Prinkipo (*correct*).¹⁶¹ She reigned 1 year 2 months (*rectè 5 years 2 months, as is given by one MS*).

NICEPHORUS I (802–811). Killed in battle in Bulgaria by the Bulgarian khan Krum on 25 July (*on the night of the 25th/26th*);¹⁶² his skull was removed and the remainder of his body was burnt (*correct*). His wife was Procopia¹⁶³ (*incorrect. Procopia was the daughter of Nicephorus and the wife of Michael I*). He reigned 8 years.

STAUracius (811). Died on 20 October (*rectè 11 January*), having become a monk; he was buried in the monastery called Stauracium (*correct*).¹⁶⁴ His wife was Theophano (*correct*). He reigned a year and a half (*incorrect*).

Stauracius was deposed and tonsured on 2 October 811 and died on 11 January 812.¹⁶⁵ These dates are recorded by Theophanes, who was writing at the time and must be regarded as an unimpeachable witness.¹⁶⁶ The date 20 October must be an error for the date of his deposition, β' (= 2) having been misread as κ' (= 20).

MICHAEL I (811–813). Died 8 October (*incorrect*), having been deposed by Leo I and compelled to become a monk on the island of Platê, where he lies buried (*correct*). His wife was Procopia (*correct*). He reigned 2 years.

¹⁵⁷ That the event took place on a Saturday and in August may be considered certain, since contemporaries were quick to seize upon the coincidence that only five years before Constantine had himself ordered the blinding or mutilation of his uncles on a Saturday in August (Theophanes, A.M. 6284; p. 468).

¹⁵⁸ Maria of Alania had been compelled to take the veil in January 795 (Theophanes, A.M. 6287; p. 469), and the thirteenth century *Synopsis Chronike* of Theodore Scutariotes in K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, VII (Paris, 1894), 128, gives the name of the monastery to which she retired as τῶν Δεσποινῶν. Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–3, suggests that this may have been identical with the Μονὴ τῶν Δεσποτῶν in which the widow of Leo V was interned by Michael II in 821, but the fact that Maria was buried in the μονὴ τῆς Κυρᾶς Εὐφροσύνης (cf. Janin, pp. 137–8) makes it more likely that the latter is meant.

¹⁵⁹ Genesius, p. 35, says that Constantine was given an imperial funeral: ὁ τοῦδε νεκρὸς ἐν τινὶ κατετέθη σορῶ τότε τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλευσούσῃ σεμνείων. Brooks took this to mean that he was buried with previous emperors in the church of the Holy Apostles, which is not correct.

¹⁶⁰ More precisely in the early hours of the 31st (Theophanes, A.M. 6295; p. 476).

¹⁶¹ She was brought first to Prinkipo and then to Lesbos, where she died on 9 August 803, but her body was brought back to Prinkipo for burial (Theophanes, A.M. 6295; pp. 478, 479, 480).

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, a. 6303 (pp. 490–1). The Emperor's severed head was exhibited for some days on a pole, and then stripped of its flesh and the skull converted into a drinking bowl.

¹⁶³ One MS has *Preconia*. The name of Nicephorus I's wife is unknown; she probably died before his accession, as she is not mentioned in the records of his reign.

¹⁶⁴ Theophanes, A.M. 6304 (p. 495): his widow founded the monastery after his death. On the name, see J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), p. 21, note 3, and Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 486–7.

¹⁶⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6304 (pp. 493, 495).

¹⁶⁶ The date of deposition also accords with the length of Michael I's reign, 1 year 9 months 11 days, as given by the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus (ed. de Boor, p. 101). The length of Stauracius' reign is given wrongly in a number of Byzantine sources—e.g. as 1 year 2 months by Leo Grammaticus (p. 207).

Once again there is a strange error in the date of death, for Michael was deposed on 11 July 813¹⁶⁷ and died many years later, as the monk Athanasius, on 11 January 844.¹⁶⁸ Once again, however, there was a reburial, for one of his sons, having become patriarch under the name of Ignatius, transferred his father's remains to the monastery of St. Michael which he had founded at Satyros, on the Bithynian shore opposite the Prince's islands.¹⁶⁹

LEO V (813–820), the Armenian. Murdered by Michael II in the palace on 25 December (*correct*), and buried on the island of Protê (*correct*)¹⁷⁰. He reigned 8 years.

MICHAEL II (820–829). Died on 2 October (*correct*), and was buried in the mausoleum of Justinian in a block of white Proconnesian stone (*incorrect*). His wife Maria was still alive, and reigned 9 days (*incorrect*). He reigned 8 years.

We have no authority other than this for the precise date of Michael's death, but the Continuator of Theophanes declares that Theophilus' reign began in October and implies that it was in the first few days of the month.¹⁷¹ The Continuator also notes that Michael II was buried in the mausoleum of Justinian, but that the tomb was of green Thessalian stone.¹⁷² The same is stated by the text of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, which alleges that Michael's (first) wife Thecla was buried separately in a tomb of Sagarian marble. Text C says Michael and Thecla were buried together in a tomb of Proconnesian marble, thus agreeing with the *Necrologium* on the kind of stone employed for Michael's tomb, but elsewhere it declares that "Michael the Amorion" was buried in the mausoleum of Constantine. Text R omits the whole entry.

The error of C in placing the tomb of "Michael the Amorion" in the mausoleum of Constantine has been explained *supra*.¹⁷³ The contradictions show that there must have been some difficulties over its identification, but it must be regarded as unlikely that any actual changes were made between the compilation of the various lists; a simple error in the *Necrologium* is a much more probable hypothesis.

A further complication is the phrase *vixit autem uxor eius Maria; regnavit dies ix*. Michael's second wife, who survived him, was named Euphrosyne, not Maria, and though his mother-in-law Maria, widow of Constantine VI, came to live in the Great Palace after her daughter's marriage, it is not easy to see why her name should have been introduced or a nine-day reign attributed to her. The latter indeed is probably no more than a detached part of an original computation of Michael II's own reign as 8 years 9 months 9 days,¹⁷⁴ and Maria a miscopying from some other entry.

THEOPHILUS (829–842). Died on 22 October (*incorrect*), and was buried with his wife Theodora (*incorrect*) in a block of Proconnesian marble (*incorrect*) in the mausoleum of Justinian (*correct*). Reigned 12 years.

¹⁶⁷ Theophanes, A.M. 6305 (p. 502).

¹⁶⁸ *Cont. Theoph.*, Bonn ed., pp. 19–20. The year is given as ,στβ', i.e. A.M. 6302, which is impossible by any computation. A figure has dropped out between the τ and the β, as has happened in another date on the same page. The date should be restored as ,στ<v>β', i.e. A.M. 6352 (A.D. 844) in view of the statement on the same page that the Emperor survived his deposition by 32 years (counting inclusively from 813). Bury (*op. cit.*, p. 30, note 2) incorrectly proposed to read the date as A.M. 6332 by the Alexandrian era, i.e. A.D. 840.

¹⁶⁹ *Cont. Theoph.*, pp. 20–1. Cf. Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁰ The phrase in the text reads *sepultura eius non est effecta, sed secundum compositionem sepultus est in insula Proti*. The first part presumably alludes to the exposure of his body in the Hippodrome, before his widow Theodosia and her children were permitted to carry it to their place of exile (Genesius, p. 26; *Cont. Theoph.*, pp. 40–1). His four sons were mutilated, and one of them died in consequence and was buried in the same tomb as his father. The Empress was subsequently confined in the monastery known as τῶν Δεσποτῶν (*Cont. Theoph.*, p. 46; cf. Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 93, though its identification with the one where Maria of Alania had been confined is doubtful). Cf. *supra*, p. 33, note 119.

¹⁷¹ *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 84.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 84, whence Cedrenus, ii. 99.

¹⁷³ *Supra*, p. 10.

¹⁷⁴ So the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus (ed. de Boor, p. 101).

Theophilus died on 20 January 842,¹⁷⁵ and there seems no way of accounting for the error in the text. Theodora, whose role in the restoration of images earned her the title of saint, died many years after her husband, shortly after the accession of Basil in 867.¹⁷⁶ She is commemorated in the Greek Church on 11 February, but this is not necessarily the day of her death. She was in any case not buried with Theophilus, but with her daughters and other relations in the monastery of Gastria.¹⁷⁷ The statement that the tomb of Theophilus was of Proconnesian marble contradicts that of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* to the effect that it was of green stone, for Proconnesian marble was white, and in view of the other errors in the *Necrologium* the testimony of the *Catalogus* is to be preferred.

MICHAEL III (842–867). Murdered 24 September (*correct*) in the Palace of St. Mamas (*correct*),¹⁷⁸ and buried in the monastery of Philippicus in Chrysopolis¹⁷⁹ (*correct*). Later his body was brought back to Constantinople and buried in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*) in a block of Proconnesian marble (*probably correct*). His wife Eudocia with her mother He reigned 26 years.

The account of Michael's murder given by the Continuator of Theophanes and related sources does not mention his burial, but the first entry under Leo VI records how this Emperor brought the body back from Chrysopolis—the monastery of Philippicus is not mentioned—and interred it in the church of the Holy Apostles.¹⁸⁰ The minor contradictions in the sources regarding the tomb he used—it was that which had previously housed the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia in the monastery of the Augusta—have been discussed already under Justin I. The reference to Eudocia and her mother probably goes back to the statement in some of the sources that after Michael's murder his wife Eudocia was sent back to her parents.¹⁸¹

BASIL I (867–886). Died 19 August (*error for 29 August*),¹⁸² and was buried in a block of Thessalian marble (*correct*) in the mausoleum of Constantine (*correct*) with his wife Eudocia (*correct*). He reigned 19 years.

[**LEO VI (886–912).** This Emperor's name has been accidentally omitted in the *Necrologium*. He died 11 May 912,¹⁸³ and was buried in the mausoleum of Constantine in a sarcophagus of some stone which was evidently difficult to identify, for L terms it "Sagarian or *pneumonousian*," C "Sagarian," and R "Sagarian *phlegmenousian*" (? flame colored). The phrase "Sagarian or *pneumonousian*" is also used to describe the sarcophagus of Irene, daughter of the Caesar Bardas, in the monastery of Gastria;¹⁸⁴ so it is evidently not a mistake.]

¹⁷⁵ *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 139, agreeing roughly with the statement there that his reign lasted 12 years 3 months, and precisely with that of the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus which gives 12 years 3 months 20 days (ed. de Boor, p. 101). The burial of Theophilus' "accursed body" in the church of the Holy Apostles is noted by Leo Grammaticus, p. 228.

¹⁷⁶ So Cedrenus, ii. 182.

¹⁷⁷ *Supra*, p. 27, note 85.

¹⁷⁸ The phrase is not very intelligible as printed by Cessi: *interfectus est Michael imperator apud . . . iacentibus sibi militibus, in procensu sancti martyris Mamantis*. The words *apud iacentibus* (there is no lacuna between them in the MSS) are, as Prof. R. J. H. Jenkins points out to me, a mistake for *ab adiacentibus*. Cf. *Theoph. Cont.*, p. 254; διὰ τῶν προκοιτούντων . . . στρατιωτῶν, ἐν τοῖς παλατίοις τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μάμαντος ἀναιρουσιν αὐτόν.

¹⁷⁹ This monastery was founded by Philippicus, brother-in-law of the Emperor Maurice, who was buried there (Nicephorus, p. 7).

¹⁸⁰ *Cont. Theoph.*, pp. 210, 353. It is noted on both occasions by Leo Grammaticus, pp. 252, 262–3.

¹⁸¹ Pseudo-Symeon, iv. 48 (Bonn ed., p. 686).

¹⁸² *Const. Porphy.*, *De Ceremon.*, ii. 52 (Bonn ed., i. 780). The day is written out in full; so the error is probably in the *Necrologium*.

¹⁸³ *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 377; Leo Grammaticus, p. 285.

¹⁸⁴ *De Ceremon.*, ii. 42 (p. 648).

ALEXANDER (912–913). Died 6 June (*correct*), and was buried in the same sarcophagus as his father Basil and his mother Eudocia (*correct*).¹⁸⁵ He reigned 23 years (*error for 13 months*).

CONSTANTINE VII (913–959) Porphyrogenitus. Died 19 November (*perhaps correct*), and was buried in a marble tomb in the mausoleum of Constantine (*but perhaps not separately from his father*). He reigned 47 years.

The date of Constantine's death is usually given as 9 November on the authority of Cedrenus.¹⁸⁶ There must be a copyist's error in either the text of Cedrenus—or rather in that of Scylitzes, whom Cedrenus is copying—or here, and since a figure is more likely to have dropped out than to have been inserted, it would be reasonable, other things being equal, to prefer the 19th. But the 9th would fit in with the length of 3 years 4 months 5 days¹⁸⁷ attributed to the reign of Romanus II; to make it the 19th would mean altering this figure to 3 years 3 months 25 days. Such an error seems unlikely, but since George Monachus gives 3 years 3 months 5 days¹⁸⁸ for the reign it cannot be excluded. The date must therefore be regarded as uncertain.

Constantine VII was first buried in his father's sarcophagus,¹⁸⁹ his graceless son having apparently appropriated the sarcophagus he had prepared for himself. The *Necrologium* attributes to him a separate tomb, and so does Mesarites. It is possible, as Downey argues,¹⁹⁰ that he was later buried separately, thus repeating what had occurred in the case of Theodosius II.¹⁹¹ It is equally possible, however, that the *Necrologium* and Mesarites may have inadvertently attributed to Constantine VII the tomb really belonging to Constantine the son of Basil, which is listed separately in the *Catalogus*.

The tombs and obits of Romanus I and his family are omitted from the *Necrologium*, as are the tombs from the *Catalogus*. They have already been discussed.¹⁹²

ROMANUS II (959–963). Died 15 March (*correct*),¹⁹³ and was buried in the mausoleum of Constantine (*correct*) in a tomb of white stone, without carving, which his father had caused to be made (*unconfirmed, but probable*).¹⁹⁴ He reigned 4 years.

BASIL II (963–1025). Reigned for 62 years, with his brother Constantine, first with his mother Theophano; he reigned with Nicephorus Phocas for 7 years and John Zimisces for 7 years, and finally alone (*i.e. his brother Constantine being a cipher*) for 48 years. He conquered Crete, Bari, Calabria, Antioch, Tarsus, Syria, and many other cities, and God granted him many victories. He died on 13 December (*rectè 15 December*), and was buried in the church of St. John the Evangelist in the Hebdomon (*correct*).¹⁹⁵

CONSTANTINE VIII (1025–1028). Died in November (*rectè 12 November*)¹⁹⁶ and was buried in a marble block in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). He reigned 3 years, and

¹⁸⁵ *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 380, and Leo Grammaticus, p. 288, both also noting that Alexander was buried in the same tomb as his father. Pseudo-Symeon gives the incorrect figure of 1 year 29 days for his length of reign (p. 715).

¹⁸⁶ Bonn ed., ii. 337. Leo Diaconus, p. 5, simply places it in November. The *Cont. Theoph.*, pp. 468–9, and George Monachus, p. 756 (from the same source) give 15 November, which would be preferable if it were not for the reasons given in the text.

¹⁸⁷ Cedrenus, ii. 345; through a slip he has written 13 for 3.

¹⁸⁸ George Monachus, p. 756.

¹⁸⁹ So the *Catalogus*, text L, confirmed by *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 468.

¹⁹⁰ "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 34, note on no. 10.

¹⁹¹ *Supra*, p. 43.

¹⁹² *Supra*, pp. 28–29. Cf. also Zonaras, xvi. 20. 16–22 (Bonn ed., iii, 481–2), on the fate of the family.

¹⁹³ Cedrenus, ii. 344.

¹⁹⁴ But see *supra*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁵ Cedrenus, ii. 479–80. His metrical epitaph is in Banduri, *Imperium orientale* (1680), I (i), 179–80; it is reprinted by Cougny, *Epigrammata nova*, ii. 740, in his *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, iii (1890), 216.

¹⁹⁶ Cedrenus, ii. 484. He fell ill on the 9th, and died 3 days later. Lupus Protospatharius (a. 1029), in MGH, *Script.*, v. 57) gives St. Martin's eve, which would be the 10th. His wife Helena died during his lifetime, but her place of burial is unrecorded.

before he died he transferred the empire to his daughter Zoe and her husband Romanus III (*correct*).

Constantine VIII, whose tomb stood in the middle of the mausoleum of Constantine away from the wall, was the last Byzantine Emperor to be buried in the church of the Holy Apostles.

ROMANUS III (1028–1034). Died on 11 April (*correct*)¹⁹⁷ in the bathroom at Blachernae (*not quite correct*),¹⁹⁸ and was buried in the monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos¹⁹⁹ (*correct*) which he himself had beautified (*correct*). He reigned 5 years.

MICHAEL IV (1034–1041). Died 13 November (*rectè 10 December*)²⁰⁰ and was buried in the monastic habit in a block of white marble in the monastery of the Holy Anargyroi which he had built outside the city (*correct*). He reigned 8 years.

MICHAEL V (1041–1042). On 20 April, while Michael Calaphates, nephew of the previous Michael, held the empire by the grace of the Augusta Zoe, who had raised him to this rank and adopted him as her son, he turned against his mistress and sent her into exile on the island of Protê. The Senate thereupon took counsel with Zoe's sister Theodora and, with the populace, raided and sacked the Palace. Michael fled to the monastery of St. John Baptist, but by order of Theodora and Zoe he was taken out and blinded and with his family was blotted out.²⁰¹ He reigned 4 months 30 days (*rectè 4 months 10 days*).

It is not clear to precisely which of these events the date 20 April is meant to refer, and it is not likely that a person writing about it a year or so later would have remembered them accurately. It is probable that the revolt broke out on the 19th, that Theodora was proclaimed Augusta on the 20th, and that the blinding of Michael was carried out on the 21st.²⁰²

The entry under Michael V is the last of the series which begins with an *obit* or date of deposition, and that under Constantine IX was clearly written while this monarch was on the throne. The length of his reign (12 years 8 months)²⁰³ and his burial in the church of St. George the Martyr at Mangana²⁰⁴ were evidently added later. The entries for the remainder of the eleventh century unfortunately give no dates, and the lengths of reigns appear only in round numbers—2 years, 8 years, 4 years 3 months, and so on. There are, none the less, a few details of interest.

¹⁹⁷ Cedrenus, ii. 505, gives Holy Thursday, 15 April, but these dates do not agree, since Easter fell on the 14th. MS Coislin 136 of Cedrenus, however, gives the 11th, which is evidently correct; it is confirmed by Lupus Protospatharius, a. 1034 (SS., v. 58), and Psellus, *Chron.*, iii. 26, likewise says that it occurred on Holy Thursday. It was generally believed that Romanus' death was not an accident or the consequence of his illness, but that he was murdered while taking his bath.

¹⁹⁸ Cedrenus, i. 505, and Psellus, iii. 26 (ed. Renauld, I, p. 51), make it clear that the murder took place in the bath of the Great Palace, not in that of Blachernae.

¹⁹⁹ *In monasterio Sancte Marie Triantafelici*. This unusual name for the Peribleptos comes from Triakontaphyllos, the name of the man from whom Romanus III bought the site on which to found the monastery (Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 227).

²⁰⁰ Cedrenus, ii. 533; the day is written out in full; so it is unlikely to be wrong. There seems to be no explanation for the divergence between the two dates. It cannot be that one was the date of his abdication and the other that of his death, for Psellus tells us that he died on the same day that he received the tonsure (*Chron.*, iv. 55). He was buried very simply, close to the altar on the left-hand side as one entered the church.

²⁰¹ ... *et cum progenie sua funditus est deletus*. This phrase is merely rhetorical. Michael V had no children. His uncle John the Orphanotrophos was blinded at the same time as himself, and he had himself caused many of his relatives to be mutilated.

²⁰² There is a careful discussion of the chronology in H. Mädlar, *Theodora, Michael Stratiotikos, Isaak Komnenos* (Leipzig diss. Plauen-i.-V., 1894), 2–3. The other sources make it clear that Theodora alone, and not Theodora and Zoe jointly, was responsible for the order that the deposed Emperor should be blinded.

²⁰³ Actually 12 years 7 months (11 June 1042–11 January 1055).

²⁰⁴ So also Cedrenus, ii. 610. For his benefactions to this church, see *ibid.*, pp. 608–9.

1. Michael VI is normally termed *Stratioticus* by the Byzantine historians, but this was only a nickname and none of them gives his family name, presumably because this was not of any consequence.²⁰⁵ The *Catalogue* terms him Michael *Briucas*, this evidently representing *Bringas* (Βρίγγας), an appellation found also in Lupus Protospatharius.²⁰⁶ Ducange is no doubt right in linking him with the Joseph Bringas who had played a prominent part in events of a hundred years before, during the brief reign of Romanus II.²⁰⁷

2. The length of reign attributed to Romanus IV Diogenes (1067–71) is 4 years 3 months, which perhaps settles the date of his surrender to Michael VII, followed by his blinding and death. The figure cannot be reckoned from his accession (1 January 1068) to the battle of Manzikert (19 August 1071), which was only 3 years 9 months, and though most modern authors have dated his downfall to the spring of 1072, the chronology of Attaleiates is so obscure²⁰⁸ that some scholars have postponed his death to 1073.

3. Michael VII is rather misleadingly said to be buried *in monasterio Hemanuelis*; this was the monastery of Manuel, founded by a *magister* of this name in the ninth century, to which the Emperor retired after being nominated metropolitan of Ephesus, an office which he made no serious attempt to occupy.²⁰⁹

From Alexius Comnenus onwards the *Necrologium* ceases to be a translation of a Greek original, the continuations having been written during the period of the Latin empire. They have, none the less, a certain independent value of their own, as has been shown *supra* (pp. 14–15).

²⁰⁵ Later Byzantine sources sometimes called him "Michael the Aged," Μιχαήλ ὁ Γέρων (e.g. the *Synopsis Chronike* of Theodore Scutariotes in K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, VII [Paris, 1894], 163), but this was making a nickname out of what was only an adjective sometimes rather emphatically used (Psellus, *Chron.*, vii. 43).

²⁰⁶ Lupus, a. 1057, 1059 (SS., v. 59).

²⁰⁷ *Fam. Byzant.*, p. 123.

²⁰⁸ Attaleiates, Bonn ed., pp. 168–79.

²⁰⁹ Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 332 and note 5.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TOMBS AND OBITS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS

CYRIL MANGO and IHOR ŠEVČENKO

Mr. Philip Grierson is to be congratulated for having discovered among the medley of material contained in the *Chronicon Altitate* an important source for the history of the Byzantine emperors. The relevant section of this Chronicle is the one that Mr. Grierson has christened the *Necrologium imperatorum*;¹ as he points out, it occurs in manuscripts of only the thirteenth century and later. Since it is obvious at first glance that the *Necrologium* represents a translation of a Greek text, we are faced with the problem of identifying this text.

Mr. Grierson has already gone a long way towards solving this problem. He points out that the *Necrologium*, far from being a uniform text, is made up of five distinct sections compiled at different times, namely: *I*. From Julius Caesar to either Diocletian or Constantius Chlorus; *II*. From Constantine I to Romanus I; *III*. From Basil II to Constantine IX; *IV*. From Theodora to Alexius I; *V*. From Manuel I to either Henry I or Baldwin II of Courtenay. It is sections II and III that are of most interest. In the following remarks, however, we shall confine ourselves to section II.

The peculiarity of the *Necrologium* is that, in addition to giving the length of each emperor's reign, it combines information on the circumstances of the death or deposition of each emperor with an account of his place of burial. No Byzantine text of this particular nature has been known until now. Yet such a text did exist in the hitherto lost chapter 42 of Book II of the *De Cerimoniis*. In the preserved index of Book II (Bonn ed., p. 513) it is entitled: Ὑπόμνημα ἐν συντόμῳ τῶν βασιλευσάντων βασιλέων ἐν τῇδε τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εὐτυχιστάτῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου. In the *Lipsiensis Rep. i. 17*, on which our edition of the *De Cerimoniis* is exclusively based, chapter 42 is missing, along with the greater part of the preceding chapter.

Two years ago we reported on the discovery of a palimpsest manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis* in the Library of the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Istanbul.² This palimpsest, *cod. Chalcensis S. Trinitatis* (125) 133, contains, as we have pointed out, three folios pertaining to chapter 42. These are now numbered 126, 212, and 214 bis. The names of the emperors are written in the margin and are easily decipherable. Folio 212 covers the period from Leo I (only the end of the entry being preserved) to Phocas; folio 214 bis, which in the original manuscript came immediately after folio 212, from Phocas to Tiberius Apsimar; and folio

¹ *Origo civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum*, ed. R. Cessi, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1933), 102 ff.

² *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), 247–9.

126 from Leo VI (only the end of the entry being preserved) to Romanus II, apparently the last emperor of whom there was an account. Originally, chapter 42 probably occupied about six folios, if we allow for one folio to cover the period from Constantine I to Zeno, and two more from Tiberius Apsimar to Alexander.

Our first observation, therefore, is that chapter 42 of the *De Cerimoniis* dealt with precisely the same period as Section II of the *Necrologium*. The decipherment of the palimpsest is, unfortunately, of the utmost difficulty and will require a long time even under the most favorable conditions. But even the few lines we have been able to read so far make it clear that we have before us a text that bears a close analogy to the *Necrologium*, as the following examples will show:

Fol. 212^r, lines 1–2 (end of entry for Leo I): ... καὶ Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ...—Cf. *Necrologium*, p. 106₅: ... *Veneria, uxor eius. regnavit ann. XVIII.*

Fol. 212^r, lines 26–28—fol. 212^v, line 1 (Justinian I): ... ἀποστόλων ἐν τῷ ... ὠκοδόμησεν ... ὁσπρίτη ἡγούν βυθινῶ· οὐ μετὰ Θεοδώρας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ... Cf. *Necrologium*, p. 106₂₆: ... *in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum, in magno sepulchro, quod ipse composuit et hedificavit, in labro lapideo, qui dicitur iritionos, bithinio. non cum coniuge sua Theodora*

Fol. 212^v, lines 26–28—fol. 214 bis^r, line 1 (Phocas): ... (βο)ὸς ἀγορᾶ καὶ ἡ τέφρα αὐτοῦ ἐρρίφη εἰς τὸν ξενοτάφιν τοῦ Πελαγίου· γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Λεοντία· ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ὀκτώ. Cf. *Necrologium*, p. 107₁₈: ... *et corpus illius incensum est in platea bovum, et cinis eius proiectus est in sepultura morientium in pelago. regnavit ann. VIII.* Note that the *Necrologium* omits mentioning Phocas' wife Leontia.

Fol. 214 bis^r, line 27–214 bis^v, line 2 (Constantine IV and Justinian II): ... ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη 17. νοεμβρίῳ δ' ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ ῥινότμητος ἐκβληθεὶς πρότερον τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ Λεοντίου ... Cf. *Necrologium*, p. 108₈: *regnavit ann. XVII. Mense novembris, die XXIII,³ defunctus est Iustinianus imperator nasu trunco, qui antea eiectus est ex imperio e Leontio ...*

Fol. 214 bis^v, lines 27–28: ... καὶ Ἀψίμαρος καὶ ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀλλὰ ῥιφέντες ὡς προείρηται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀγνοίᾳ τὴν ταφὴν No corresponding passage in the *Necrologium*.

Fol. 126^r, line 1 (Leo VI): ... σαγαρηνοῦ τοῦ καλουμένου πνευμονουσίου· ἐβασίλευσεν Cf. *De Cer.*, p. 643₆. No corresponding passage in the *Necrologium* which lacks the entry for Leo VI.

Fol. 126^r, lines 26–28—126^v, line 1 (Constantine VII): ... ἐξελθὼν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν λ' Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς τρίτης ἰνδίκτου εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ὄρος τοὺς ἐκεῖσε κατόψεσθαι μοναχοὺς, νόσῳ ληφθεὶς ἐν τῇ No corresponding passage in the *Necrologium*, but cf. Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., p. 463f.; Cedrenus, II, p. 337.

The above confrontation has shown that, whereas in some cases the texts of chapters 42 of the *De Cerimoniis* and of the *Necrologium* are identical, the

³ November 4 is perhaps preferable to November 24 as the date of Justinian II's death. Cf. Grierson's comments, *supra*, p. 50f.

latter omits certain passages that appear in the former. We have found no instance in which the Latin text differs from the Greek other than by omission or scribal error. To account for this relationship, we would be inclined to postulate the existence of at least one lost Greek intermediary between the two texts. Chapter 42 could have been detached from the Book of Ceremonies in much the same way as the list of imperial tombs (Bonn ed., pp. 642-9: this is really chapter 43, but Reiske numbers it 42) also circulated separately and became appended to Recension C of the *Patria*. In its detached form, chapter 42 appears to have been abbreviated in parts, but also received several accretions bringing it down eventually to the time of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. It was, most probably, such a text that was translated into lamentable Latin and eventually incorporated into the *Chronicon Altitate*.

Mr. Grierson is very nearly right when he writes that "Section II [of the *Necrologium*] is a learned compilation which must be associated with the movement of historical research that characterized the later years of the reign of Constantine VII" (*supra*, p. 16). As we have seen, chapter 42 describes the death of Constantine VII, but seems not to have gone beyond Romanus II.

The dependence of the *Necrologium* upon a chapter of the *De Cerimoniis* naturally enhances the historical authority of this document, whose value has been established by Mr. Grierson by means of other criteria, namely a detailed analysis of its contents. Conversely, the *Necrologium* will assist scholars to reconstruct a missing part of the *De Cerimoniis* and to read some parts of the palimpsest. Thus, to give two examples, with the help of the Latin text (p. 108₁₃₋₁₆: ... *corpus eius proiectum est in mari. regnavit cum Anastasia, uxore eius, ann. XVI. Mense februarii, die XV, defunctus est Leoncius imperator violenti morte per Iustinianum naso trunco et Absimario* ...), it is possible to conjecture in folio 214 bis^v, lines 4-9: (τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ) ἐρρίφη ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. γυνὴ αὐτοῦ σία. ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη 15'. φευρουαρ ἐτελεύτησεν Λεόντιος ὁ βασιλεὺς) 'Ιουστινιανοῦ τοῦ ῥινομήτου μετὰ (καί) 'Αψιμά With the help of p. 108₂₂₋₂₃ (*sepulta sunt in insula Proti. regnavit ann. VII.*), one can surely read in folio 214 bis^v, lines 17-18: ἐτέθησαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πρώτῃ. ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη 7'. But even if it eventually proves possible to decipher fully the three folios of chapter 42 contained in the Constantinopolitan codex, the remainder of the chapter will be known to us—barring further discoveries—only through its Latin version.



The President and Fellows of Harvard College

Byzantium and the Slavs

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Byzantium and the Slavs*

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

To Cyril Mango

I

Throughout more than a thousand years of their history, the Byzantines viewed their state as heir to the Roman Empire, which pretended to encompass the whole civilized world. It followed that the Byzantine state, too, was a universal empire, claiming rule over the whole civilized world; that Byzantine emperors were by right world rulers; that the Byzantines were Romans; and that they were the most civilized people in the world. True, they had improved upon their Roman ancestors in that they were Christians; also, by the seventh century the Latin component had all but disappeared from their highbrow culture, which from then on was essentially Greek; but, like ancient Romans, the Byzantines felt entitled to pour scorn on those who did not share in the fruits of civilization, that is, on the barbarians. The best thing these barbarians could do was to abandon their bestial existence, and to enter—in some subordinate capacity of course—into the family of civilized peoples headed by the Byzantine emperor. The way to civilization led through Christianity, the only true ideology, of which the empire held the monopoly. For Christianity—to be more precise, Byzantine Christianity—meant civilization.

Throughout a millennium of propaganda, these simple tenets were driven home by means of court rhetoric—the journalism of the Middle Ages—of court ceremonies, of imperial pronouncements and documents, and of coinage. The Byzantine emperor claimed certain exclusive rights. Until the thirteenth century at least, he did not conclude equal treaties with foreign rulers; he only granted them privileges, insignia, or dignities. In correspondence with certain foreign states, he issued “orders,” not letters. He claimed the exclusive right to strike gold coinage (other peoples’

* This essay is a reworking of a lecture written a number of years ago. Thus it has a number of layers. While the earliest of these layers owe a debt to the standard picture of Byzantium drawn by Franz Dölger and George Ostrogorski in their day, the later ones reflect my present views on the topic.

gold coins were at first imitations or counterfeits; only in the thirteenth century did the western ducate replace the bezant, for almost one thousand years the dollar of the Mediterranean world). As the Byzantines were not blind, they had to accommodate themselves to the existence of other states besides their own. To fit them into their system, they elaborated the concept of Hierarchy of Rulers and States that, taken all together, ideally encompassed the whole world. The emperor headed this hierarchy; he was surrounded by subordinates, who would stand in an ideal family relationship to him: the English ruler was only his friend; the Bulgarian, his son; the Rus' one, his nephew; Charlemagne was grudgingly granted the position of a brother. Or else these rulers would be given titles of varying importance: ruler, ruler with power, king, even emperor. But never—not until the fifteenth century, if at all—Emperor of the Romans.

By the ninth century, the following truths were held to be self-evident in the field of culture: the world was divided into Byzantines and barbarians, the latter including not only the Slavs—who occupied a low place on the list of barbaric nations—but also the Latins; as a city, the New Rome, that is, Constantinople, was superior to all others in art, culture, and size, and that included the Old Rome on the Tiber. God has chosen the Byzantine people to be a new Israel: the Gospels were written in Greek for the Greeks; in His foresight, God had even singled out the Ancient Greeks to cultivate the Arts and Sciences; and in Letters and Arts, the Byzantines were the Greeks' successors. "All the arts come from us," exclaimed a Byzantine diplomat during a polemical debate held at the Arab court in the fifties of the ninth century. A curious detail: this diplomat was none other than the future Apostle of the Slavs, Constantine-Cyril. Cyril's exclamation implied that Latin learning, too, was derived from the Greeks. The Greek language, the language of the Scriptures, of the church fathers, also of Plato and Demosthenes, was rich, broad, and subtle; the other tongues, notably the Slavic, had a barbaric ring to them; even the Latin language was poor and "narrow."

The Byzantines maintained these claims for almost as long as their state endured. Even towards the very end of the fourteenth century, when the empire was little more than the city of Constantinople in size, the Byzantine patriarch lectured the recalcitrant prince of Muscovy on the international order. The prince should remember—so the patriarch explained—that he was only a local

ruler, while the Byzantine emperor was the Emperor of the Romans, that is, of all Christians. The fact that the emperor's dominions were hard-pressed by the pagans was beside the point. The emperor enjoyed special prerogatives in the world and in the Church Universal. It therefore ill behooved the prince to have discontinued mentioning the name of the emperor during the liturgy.

By the end of the fourteenth century, such a claim was unrealistic, and, as is to be deduced from the Byzantine patriarch's closing complaint, it had been challenged by the Muscovite barbarian. But throughout more than half of Byzantine history, such claims worked. Why?

The first reason why they worked was that for a long time the claims were objectively true. In terms of the sixth century, Justinian, under whose early rule the large-scale Slavic invasions occurred in the Balkans, was a world emperor, that is, a ruler holding sway over the civilized world. In the east, his dominions extended beyond the upper Tigris River; they skirted the western slopes of the Caucasus. In the north, Byzantium's frontier ran across the Crimea, and along the Danube and the Alps. The empire had a foothold in Spain, it controlled the coast of North Africa and much of Egypt, it dominated today's Israel, Lebanon, and a great deal of Syria. Now let us skip half a millennium. In the time of Basil II (d. 1025), under whose reign the Rus' accepted Christianity, the situation was not much worse: it was even better in the east, where the frontier ran beyond Lake Van; for a stretch, it hugged the Euphrates. Antioch and Latakia were still in Byzantine hands; in the North, the Crimea was still crossed by the Byzantine frontier, and the Danube and the Sava were the frontier rivers—thus in this sector, too, Byzantium possessed as much as Justinian did. In the West, parts of southern Italy with the city of Bari were under Byzantine sway. In the ninth and tenth centuries, which were decisive for the Byzantinization of the Slavs, the empire's capital at Constantinople was, with the possible exception of Baghdad and Cairo, the most brilliant cultural center of the world as not only the Slavs, but also western Europe, knew it. Its patriarchs were Greek scholars and politicians. Its prelates read and commented upon Plato, Euclid, and even the objectionable Lucian; its emperors supervised large encyclopaedic enterprises; its sophisticated reading public clamored for, and obtained, reeditions of old simple Lives of Saints, which were now couched in a more refined and complicated style. The Great Palace of Constantinople,

covering an area of ca. 100,000 square meters, was still largely intact and functioning. The pomp of the court ceremonial and of the services at St. Sophia, then still the largest functioning building in the known world, was calculated to dazzle barbarian visitors, including Slavic princes or their emissaries. Byzantine political concepts influenced western mediaeval political thinking down to the twelfth century; the western symbols of rule—scepter, crown, orb, golden bull—owe a debt to Byzantium. The mosaics of Rome, of St. Mark in Venice (thirteenth century) and of Torcello near Venice (twelfth century), of the Norman churches in or near Palermo (twelfth century), are reflections of Byzantine art, and some of them were executed by Byzantine craftsmen.

The renaissance of theological speculation in the High Middle Ages was stimulated by the imperial gift which arrived from Byzantium at the court of Louis the Pious in 827. The gift was a volume of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, in Greek, of course. This work, translated twice into Latin, the second time by Johannes Scotus Eriugena (d. 877), spurred subsequent western theological speculation. It is difficult to imagine a western church without an organ—yet, this instrument, too, arrived from Byzantium in 757 and 812. On the latter occasion, the Byzantines refused to leave the organ with the Westerners, who attempted to copy it in secret, but only later successfully reproduced it. The silk industry was introduced to the West in the middle of the twelfth century, as a result of a Norman raid on Central Greece—the Normans abducted Byzantine skilled laborers from Thebes and settled them in their dominions. Even the fork seems to be a rediscovery of Byzantine origin—an eleventh-century Greek-born dogissa introduced forks to Venice, to the great horror of a contemporary ecclesiastic. No wonder that the Slavs experienced the influence of Byzantium: the West, which could fall back upon refined Latin traditions, experienced it, too, long after Byzantium's political domination over parts of Italy had ceased. So much for the first reason—Byzantine claims worked because they were objectively valid.

The second reason why the Byzantine claims of superiority worked was that they were accepted as valid by the barbarians, whether western or Slavic, even after they had ceased to be objectively valid. The usurpation of Charlemagne occurred in 800. But he, the ruler of Rome, did not call himself emperor of the Romans—he knew that this title, and all that it implied, had been preempted by the Byzantines. It was not until 982 that the

titulature "Imperator Romanorum" appeared in the West. And it was only with Frederick I Barbarossa (second half of the twelfth century) that a logical consequence was drawn from this titulature by a western ruler. Since there could be only one Emperor of the Romans, the Byzantine emperor should not be called by this title—he was to be called only what in fact he had been for a long time: the *rex Graecorum*. But did Frederick reflect that the very concept that there should be only one emperor was a Byzantine heritage? The Slavs were much slower to be weaned from Byzantium and never drew a conclusion similar to that of Frederick. With them, emulation of Byzantium was always but another form of Byzantium's imitation. True, Symeon of Bulgaria in the early tenth century and Stephen Dušan of Serbia in the mid-fourteenth assumed the title of Emperor of the Bulgarians and Greeks or of the Serbians and Greeks, respectively. But they did not think of proclaiming a Slavic counterpart to the Western doctrine *Rex est Imperator in regno suo* and thus downgrading the Byzantine emperor. Rather, they dreamed of supplanting him by taking Constantinople and seating themselves on his throne; and the same fantasy occurs in one text produced in thirteenth-century Rus', *Slovo o pogibeli russkoj zemli*.

Short of supplanting the Byzantine emperor, many a Balkan ruler aimed at securing for himself the prerogatives of that emperor, or attempted to imitate imperial pomp and usage. Ways of doing this were varied. One instance was by having a patriarch of his own: in the ninth century, the newly converted Boris of Bulgaria wanted to have one; around 900, Symeon of Bulgaria succeeded in setting one up; so did Stephen Dušan of Serbia in the mid-fourteenth century, not without resistance on the part of Byzantium. Another instance was by striking gold coins: the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen II (d. 1241) managed to do it, but he appeared on his coins in the garb of a Byzantine emperor with Christ on the reverse; another, by having the court hierarchy bear Byzantine aulic titles: Stephen Dušan named sebastocrators and logothetes; yet another, by assuming the epithet "second Justinian" on the occasion of the proclamation of new laws; still another, by looking to Byzantium as a reservoir for prestigious marriages—between the thirteenth century and the fall of Bulgaria in 1393, we count eight Greek women among 21 Bulgarian tsarinas; another, by patterning one's own capital after Constantinople: Symeon of Bulgaria's Preslav copied the Imperial City, as, by the way, did Prince Jaroslav's Kiev in the 1030s.

In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muscovy, the attitude toward Byzantium and its patriarchate was less than friendly; but when the Muscovite bookmen began to formulate an indigenous state ideology, they drew heavily upon Byzantine sources, in particular upon a *Mirror of Princes* written in Greek for the emperor Justinian in the sixth century; and they called Moscow "the reigning city," a formula by which the Byzantines usually referred to Constantinople. In sum, throughout their Middle Ages, the Balkan and to a considerable extent the East Slavic ruling elites were beholden to the Byzantine model in the matter of political concepts.

The Byzantine cultural impact did not presuppose the existence of friendly relations between Byzantium and the Slavs. Sometimes it looked as if the more anti-Byzantine the Balkan Slavs—like the Normans of Sicily—were in their political aspirations, the more Byzantinized they became; they fought the enemy with the enemy's own weapons. What the Byzantine cultural impact did presuppose was the acceptance—both by the producers and the receivers of cultural values—of the Byzantine world view and civilization as superior to all others.

II

The Christianization and cultural Byzantinization of the Balkans was a pivotal event. It affected both the medieval and the post-medieval history of the Balkans and of eastern Europe; what is more, its effects are with us today. Whether the consequences of this event should be considered as beneficial or baneful is a matter of judgment that depends on the historian's own background and on the modern public's political views. It remains that the Christianization of the Balkans not only determined the cultural physiognomy of Serbia and Bulgaria, but also prepared and facilitated the subsequent Byzantinization of the East Slavs, an event which, along with the Tartar invasion, contributed to the estrangement of Rus' from the European West. In the light of the preceding remarks, however, the Byzantinization of the South and East Slavs should be viewed just as an especially successful and enduring case of Byzantium's impact upon its neighbors, whether in Europe or in the Near East.

It was an especially successful case on two counts. First, when we speak of those Balkan Slavs who experienced the strongest influence of the Byzantine culture, we mean Serbs and Bulgarians.

But we forget that these peoples formed the rear guard, as it were, of the Slavic populations that had penetrated into the territory of the empire. In the late sixth century, the Slavs attacked the outer defenses of Constantinople; around 600, they besieged Thessalonica. About the same time, they reached Epirus, Attica, and the Peloponnesus; by the middle of the eighth century, the whole of Greece—or, at least, of the Peloponnesus—“became slavized,” to use the expression of a text written under the auspices of a tenth-century Byzantine emperor. Slavic raiders reached Crete and other Greek islands. We do hear of Byzantine military campaigns aiming at the reconquest of the lands settled by the Slavs, but judging by the paucity of relevant references in our sources, it is wise to conclude that these campaigns were not too frequent. And what remained of those Slavs? About 1,200 place-names, many of them still existing; some Slavic pockets in the Peloponnesus, attested as late as the fifteenth century; about 275 Slavic words in the Greek language; perhaps a faint Slavic trace or two in Greek folklore. Nothing more. In matters of cultural impact, the ultimate in success is called complete assimilation. When it comes to mechanisms that facilitated this spectacular assimilation, we must keep in mind the role played by the upper strata of the Slavic society, for by the end of the ninth century the Slavs were already socially differentiated. In my opinion, it was this Slavic elite, as much as the Byzantine missionaries, that served as a conduit in the transmission of Byzantine culture to the Slavic population at large.

Second, Byzantium held more than its own in its competition with Rome over the religious allegiance of the Balkan Slavs. For historical reasons, which had some validity to them, the Church of Rome laid jurisdictional claims to the territory of ancient Illyricum, that is, roughly the area on which the Serbs, Croats, and some Bulgarians (Slavic and Turkic) had established themselves. Croatia and Dalmatia were the only Byzantine areas where western Christianity was victorious in the ninth century. The Serbs were first Christianized by Rome about 640; but only the second Christianization took permanent roots there. It occurred in the seventies of the ninth century and it was due to Byzantine missionaries, later aided by Bulgarians. For a while, the newly converted Bulgarian ruler Boris-Michael flirted with Pope Nicholas I; but in 870, the Bulgarians entered the Byzantine fold, and they have remained there ever since.

True, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia and Pannonia, which originally was staged from Byzantium, ended in failure shortly after 885, when Methodius's pupils were expelled and supplanted by the German clergy of Latin rite. But if this was a failure, it was a qualified one: the Moravian and Pannonian areas had never belonged to Byzantium.

Before its collapse, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission did forge the most powerful tool for indirect Byzantinization of all Orthodox Slavs: it created—or perfected—the Old Church Slavonic literary language. The Byzantinized Slavic liturgy did continue in Bohemia—granted, in a limited way—until the very end of the eleventh century; and the expelled pupils of Methodius found an excellent reception in late ninth-century Bulgaria and Macedonia, in centers like Preslav and Ohrid, from where they continued and deepened the work of Christianizing and Byzantinizing the Bulgarian and Macedonian Slavs. Occasional attempts on the part of the thirteenth-century Serbian and Bulgarian rulers to play Rome against Constantinople had no durable effects. True, both the Serbian Stephen the First-Crowned and the Bulgarian Kalojan, tsar of Bulgaria, obtained their royal crowns from the pope (1217 and 1204, respectively). But their churches, although autonomous, remained in communion with the Byzantine patriarchate in exile (1220 and 1235, respectively); they even remained under its suzerainty, in spite of the fact that at that time the Latin Crusaders resided in conquered Constantinople and the Byzantine empire was just a smallish principality of Asia Minor, fighting for its survival.

The loss of Moravia and Pannonia by the Byzantine mission was amply compensated for by a gain in another area which (except for the Crimea) had never been under the actual Byzantine government: I mean the territories inhabited, among others, by the East Slavs. There, too, the field was not uncontested, for Rome had sent its missionaries to Kiev in the middle of the tenth century. In addition, Byzantium had to struggle there with other religious influences, Islamic and Jewish. It emerged victorious: the ruler of Kiev adopted Christianity for himself and his people in 988/9, and the act was sealed by the prince's marriage with the Byzantine emperor's sister. In retrospect, the Christianization and concomitant Byzantinization of the East Slavs was the greatest success of the Byzantine cultural mission. Churches in Byzantine style still stand in Alaska, and in Fort Ross in California; this marks the

furthest eastward advance of Byzantine Christianity under the auspices of a predominantly East Slavic state.

The cultural Byzantinization of the Orthodox Slavs was also an especially enduring case of the Byzantine impact on Europe. Chronologically speaking, this Byzantinization, as opposed to complete assimilation, started with the ninth or tenth century, depending on the area, and it lasted long after the fall of the empire in 1453, down to the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century. Paradoxically enough, after 1453, new possibilities of expansion were opened to Byzantine culture, the culture of an empire that was no more.

Before 1453, the history of the relations between Byzantium and the Slavic churches and states was that of intermittently successful attempts to shake off the administrative tutelage of the Byzantines. Now, both the Balkan Slavs and the Byzantines were subjects of the Ottoman Empire; in the eyes of the Ottoman conquerors these peoples, all of them Christian, formed one entity, *Rum milleti*, that is, "Religious Community (or Nation) of the Romans"—a name coined in good Byzantine tradition. To the Ottomans, the patriarch of Constantinople was now the head (civilian and ecclesiastical) of all the Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

Although their circumstances were reduced, the patriarchs were in some areas of activity heirs to the Byzantine emperors, and the Greek church was a depository and continuator of many aspects of Byzantine culture. This culture had now the same, if not better, chances for radiation among the Balkan Slavs as before, because both the Greeks and the Slavs were now united within the same Ottoman territory.

The churches in the Balkans were administered from Constantinople, especially since the late seventeenth-century, when Phanariote Greeks had obtained great influence at the Sublime Porte. From that time on, native Greeks, rather than Hellenized Slavs, began to be installed as bishops. The historical Slavic Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid were abolished in the second half of the eighteenth century (1766 and 1767, respectively). Dates marking the official independence of the Bulgarian and Serbian churches from Constantinople coincide roughly with the achievement of political independence by those countries. This rule of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, often unwisely exercised, created much bad blood between Greeks and Bulgarians in the nineteenth

century. By that time, the élite of the Balkans was looking to Vienna, Paris, and westernized St. Petersburg for inspiration. But down to the eighteenth century, Greek—that is, post-Byzantine—culture, largely represented by Greek or Hellenized churchmen, was the highest culture in the area.

Eastern Europe, too, very slowly moved away from Byzantium. The Tartar invasion of the 1240s first cut and then weakened contacts with the West, and brought about a falling back upon those forms of local cultural heritage that were in existence in the forties of the thirteenth century. This heritage had been mostly Byzantine; now, it was being preserved and elaborated upon, but not substantially enriched. The Ukraine and Belorussia were reopened to western influences somewhat earlier than other areas, as they gradually fell under the domination of Catholic Poland-Lithuania, especially from the fourteenth century on. But even there the union of Churches did not occur until some two hundred and fifty years later (I am referring to the Union of Brest in 1596), and it was only a limited success, even from the Catholic point of view.

In Moscow, the jurisdictional dependence on the Patriarchate of Constantinople continued until 1448. When the break came, it was motivated by the accusation that Byzantium was not Byzantine enough, that it had fallen away from the true faith by compromising with the Latins at the Council of Florence (1439), while the true Byzantine Orthodoxy was from now on to be preserved in Muscovy. The establishment of an independent patriarchate in Moscow had to wait until 1589. Its confirmation necessitated the assent of other patriarchs, but it was easily obtained from the impecunious Greeks. Western influences penetrating through the Ukraine were present in seventeenth-century Muscovy, but it was only Peter the First, ascending the throne as Tsar and Autocrat, Byzantine style, and leaving it in death as August Emperor, western fashion, who put an end to the Byzantine period in the history of the Russian cultural élite, but not in the history of the Russian lower classes.

III

The two main—but not the only—channels through which Byzantine influences entered the Orthodox Slavic world were church hierarchy, secular and monastic (both for a long time largely Greek, even in eastern Europe), and the respective princely courts. Thus, Byzantium was imitated, above all, in those aspects of culture

in which the church, the state, or the upper layers of the Slavic society were interested: script, literary language, both sacred and secular, literature, ecclesiastical and secular learning, art (both in its ecclesiastical and aulic variety), ruler cult, state ideology, law, and the sphere of gracious living. But the upper layers of medieval Orthodox Slavic society were less refined than their Byzantine counterparts. There was much in Byzantine culture which they did not yet need; on the other hand, there were many elementary things not exactly belonging to the exalted sphere that they had to learn. Thus while the most sophisticated products of Byzantine literature were never translated into medieval Slavic, the Bulgarian words for onions (*kromid*) and cabbage (*lahana*) and the Serbian expression for fried eggs (*tiganisana jaja*) have been taken over from Greek. Art is an exception, for there Byzantium gave the Slavs the best it had to offer. But art is not primarily an intellectual pursuit, and it can be appreciated even by newcomers to civilization; moreover, then as now, money could buy the best.

From the court and the episcopal residence, borrowed elements of Byzantine culture seeped down to the people. Also, pilgrims traveled to Constantinople and brought back with them both wondrous tales of the capital's splendor and objects of devotional art; monks moved to the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Rus' monasteries of Mount Athos and had Greek-Slavic conversation manuals composed for them (we know of one dating from the fifteenth century). In areas geographically closest to Byzantium, like Bulgaria, Byzantine direct domination, and later the post-Byzantine symbiosis under the Ottomans, brought close contacts on a popular level. Thus we have reflections of Byzantine influences in Slavic popular language and folklore: we know of at least 107 (perhaps as much as 245) proverbs that the Slavs borrowed directly from Greek. Eighty percent of these borrowings were preserved by South Slavs, twenty percent by East Slavs.

IV

The extent of Byzantine cultural impact upon the Orthodox Slavs can best be demonstrated by discussing two cases: that of literary language and that of literature. The Old Church Slavonic language was formed by two generations of Byzantine and Slavic missionaries in the second half of the ninth century and the very beginning of the tenth, originally as a vehicle for spreading the word of God in

Slavic. It was a tool with which to translate from the Greek. We do know of some original Slavic writings by the immediate pupils of Saints Cyril and Methodius, but the bulk of the literary activity of the Slavic Apostles and of their direct successors consisted in translations from Greek: excerpts from both Testaments (soon followed by the full translation of the Gospels), liturgical books, edifying sayings of the monks, codes of ecclesiastical and secular law. In late ninth- and early tenth-century Bulgaria, the situation was much the same. The most bulky literary products of John, the exarch of Bulgaria, were interpolated translations of St. Basil's *Hexaemeron* and of John of Damascus's *Fountain of Knowledge*. The Mirror of Princes by Agapetus (sixth century) was most probably translated into Old Bulgarian at this same early period, and thus became the very first secular work of Slavic literature. This meant that Old Church Slavonic had to struggle with the world of theological, philosophical and political concepts and other notions, as they were expressed in Hellenistic, early Byzantine, and middle Byzantine Greek. No wonder that Old Church Slavonic teems with simple, semantic, and phraseological calques, that is, word-formations and expressions closely patterned on Byzantine Greek. To a linguist, the results of that patterning often look un-Slavic, even if the Orthodox Slavs of today no longer react to the Byzantine calques in Old Church Slavonic as un-Slavic—a thousand years of familiarity took care of that. For instance, Slavic makes little use of composite words: Greek, especially late antique and Byzantine Greek, loves them; accordingly, Old Church Slavonic abounds in composites like *blasosloviti*, *bogonosъcbъ*, *bogorodica*, *samodrъžъcbъ*, to mention those words which have survived in several modern Slavic languages, including modern Russian. This slavish adherence to Byzantine templates can be explained in part by the character of the originals selected for translation: the words of these originals were sacred or of high political importance, be they the words of God, of a church father, of a saint's Life, or of an imperial charter. They had to be rendered with the greatest exactitude, even at the price of doing violence to the tendencies prevalent in early Slavic.

The calque character of Old Church Slavonic was not exclusively a bad trait. Greek, the model of Old Church Slavonic, was a very highly developed and supple language; and the more sophisticated Byzantine writers intended to imitate Demosthenes and Plato, even if in fact they often imitated the much later and more mannered imitators of these authors. In wrestling with the complicated

Greek, Old Church Slavonic acquired something of that language's quality and versatility. The impressive stylistic possibilities of modern literary Russian are due to the fact that much—some say roughly one-half—of its vocabulary is made up of Church Slavonic words, a feature that enables a Russian writer to play on two linguistic registers at will. Old Church Slavonic, with admixtures of respective vernaculars, remained the main literary vehicle for the Orthodox Slavs down to the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century, depending on the geographical area and the literary genre. This language was Slavic according to its sound, but largely Byzantine according to its word formations and even its content.

The lexical borrowings from Greek in the languages of the Orthodox Slavs are legion. There are about fourteen hundred of them in Bulgarian, about a thousand each in Serbian and Russian. Their distribution is most dense in the area of Christian terminology, such as ecclesiastical dignities, ceremonies and activities, buildings, names of liturgical texts and songs, and names of months. The language of law, court, administration, education, and the army also abounds in borrowings from Greek. In a less exalted sphere, Greek provided the Slavs with many piscatorial and nautical terms, as well as terms of commerce, coinage and measurement, agriculture and horticulture, and, finally, with terms pertaining to civilized living. Thus the words for basin (*harkoma*), floor (*patoma*, *patos*), cushion (*proskefal*), breakfast (*progim*), desert (*glikizmo*), pan (*tigan*), bench (*skamija*), fork (*pirun*), drug (*voitima*) are Greek in medieval Serbian or Bulgarian. Even some expressions for family relationships (*anepsej*, *bratovčed*), some prepositions (*kata*, as in *kata godina*), interjections (*elate*, originally an imperative), and morphological elements (the verbal suffix *-sati*) come from the Greek. Some other linguistic traits common to the Balkan peoples (Slavic and non-Slavic alike) are attributed by some to the impact of late (that is, in part Byzantine) Greek: I have in mind such phenomena as the lack of an infinitive, or forming the future with the Slavic equivalents of *θέλω ἵνα*.

When we speak of older Slavic literature, we think first of all of the creative effort of Slavic writers. Still, literature is not only what one creates, but also what one reads. When we are asked what was read, say, in an important Muscovite cultural center like the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery around the year 1500, we can give an answer, for we possess a catalogue of this monastery's library dating

from that time. The answer is revealing. Out of 212 books listed in the catalogue, some 90 have a liturgical character; most of the others are translations from Byzantine homiletic, hagiographic, and ascetic texts. Not only fourth-to-ninth-century Greek fathers of the church appear on the shelves of the library of Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery around 1500 (Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil, Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, John of the Ladder, Theodore of Studios), but also Byzantine writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Symeon the Younger, the Theologian), the eleventh (Nikon of the Black Mountain), and even the fourteenth (Gregory Palamas). A few of these translations are explicitly described as coming from the Balkans. Only two texts in the library are written by Kievan authors (Hilarion's *Slovo* and Cyril of Turov's *Sermons*). One more treats a Rus' subject of interest to Muscovy (the Life of Metropolitan Peter [d. 1328], by Metropolitan Cyprian). Only two of the texts, Josephus Flavius's *Jewish War* and *Barlaam and Joasaph*, are secular, and even these were considered recommended reading in one's pursuit of sacred learning. Needless to say, both of them are translations from the Greek.

V

What has been said about language and literature (and could have been as convincingly said about art and music) should have suggested to us that Byzantium thoroughly dominated the cultural horizon of the Orthodox Slavic elite in the Middle Ages; and we should remember that for some of these Slavs the Middle Ages lasted down to the eighteenth century. Such is the truth, even if it is not the whole truth. For in the matter of the transfer of cultural goods from one society to another, telling about what was transferred and through what channels it was transferred amounts to showing only one side of the coin. The other side of the coin would consist in telling what was selected for importation and what happened to the imports once they reached the receiving society—how they were understood (or misunderstood) and for what purposes they were used. This, however, is subject matter for another essay.

Whether the Byzantine impact on the Slavs was a good or a bad thing is for a Slavist, not a Byzantinist, to decide. True, when Machiavelli was writing his *Prince* and composing his *Discorsi* on

Livy, Muscovite bookmen were still piecing together their political doctrines with some sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-century Byzantine material. But it was not Byzantium's fault that the Orthodox Slavs took so long to break its spell.

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Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium

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INAUGURAL SESSION

Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

I

If, attracted by our beautiful poster, a middle-aged Japanese tourist were to stroll into our hall here in Ravenna and attend the lecture which I am about to deliver, he would have no trouble understanding some of its premises. As he would remember pre-1945 Japan, he would find it natural that the Byzantine emperor should have been called “an earthly god of sorts”; and as he would have studied Japanese medieval history, the statement, say, that tenth-century Byzantium had a developed lay and ecclesiastical bureaucracy with literary tastes would have a familiar ring to him. But, being a Shintoist, an adherent of a worship that is not for export, our tourist would wonder why there should have been Byzantine religious *missions* at all.¹

¹ The full story of Byzantine religious missions is still to be written. For a first approach, cf. D. A. Zakynthinos, “Activité apostolique et politique étrangère à Byzance,” *La Revue du Caire* 16 (1946): 179–97; P. K. Polakis, “Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ κόσμος τῶν βαρβάρων,” in Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεολογικὴ Σχολή, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρίς 1 (1953): 450–538; the brilliant essay by H.-G. Beck, “Christliche Mission und politische Propaganda im byzantinischen Reich,” *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, vol. 14 (Spoleto, 1967), pp. 649–74, reprinted as item IV in idem, *Ideen und Realitäten in Byzanz* (= Variorum Reprints [London, 1972]); F. Dvornik, “Missions of the Greek and Western Churches in the East During the Middle Ages,” *XIII International Congress of Historical Sciences* (Moscow, 1970), *Doklady Kongressa*, I, 4 (Moscow, 1973), pp. 181–201; Isrun Engelhardt, *Mission und Politik in Byzanz; ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians* (= *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 19) (Munich, 1974): much of the information on early Byzantine missionary activity given in the present article owes its debt to this dissertation; and, above all, Ch. Hannick, “Die byzantinischen Missionen,” in *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, II, 1: *Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1978), pp. 279–359, esp. 354–59 (bibliography on p. 358). For Byzantine missions in particular areas, cf., e.g., E. A. Thompson, “Christian Missionaries among the Huns,” *Hermathena* 67 (1946): 73–79; idem, “Christianity and the Northern Barbarians,” in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 56–78; G. Moravcsik, “Byzantinische Mission im Kreise der Türkvölker an der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres,” *Proceedings of the XIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (1967), pp. 15–28; L. Müller, “Byzantinische Mission nördlich des Schwar-

Three answers—two general, one particular—could be of help to him. “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations” are Christ’s own words; these words are alive today, for they open the Apostolic Letter of Pope John Paul II issued on the occasion of the millennium that we are celebrating today. In Christ’s wake, the fledgling faith was championed by St. Paul, a convert who was an organizer and missionary of genius and who made it what it is today; hence, it is not astonishing that St. Paul’s words about the merciful God “Who will have every man to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth” were quoted in connection with missions in late antique and medieval texts written in Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Slavic. From its very beginnings, Christianity has been a missionary religion, a rare breed among the world’s faiths, the others being Buddhism, the now extinct Manichaeism, and Islam.²

The third answer to our tourist would be more peculiar to Byzantium itself. It would have to do with ideology and with the concept first adumbrated by Eusebius, Constantine the Great’s contemporary and eulogist, soon after the triumph of the new belief. This concept made the Byzantine Empire coextensive with Christianity. Thus, any gain for the empire was a gain for Christianity and any gain for Christianity outside the confines of the civilized world was a gain for the empire. It would follow that any missionary undertaking that involved the Byzantine government would combine religion with politics. We should keep this statement in mind

zen Meeres vor dem elften Jahrhundert,” *ibid.*, pp. 29–38; F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, 1970); D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York and Washington, 1971), pp. 84–86 (Bulgaria); 137–53 (Moravia); 173–201 (Khazars, Alans, Rus’); V. Vavřínek, “The Introduction of the Slavonic Liturgy and the Byzantine Missionary Policy,” in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert* (Prague, 1978), pp. 255–81; A. Avenarius, “Xristianstvo na Rusi do 989 g.,” *ibid.*, pp. 301–315. For a comparative treatment of the christianization of Rus’, including a discussion of Byzantium’s impact on various peoples at the time of their baptism, cf., e.g., AN SSSR, Institut Slavjano-vedenija i Balkanistiki, *Vvedenie xristianstva u narodov Central’noj i Vostočnoj Evropy. Kreščenie Rusi* (Moscow, 1987); G. G. Litavrin, ed., *Prinjatje xristianstva narodami Central’noj i Jugo-Vostočnoj Evropy i kreščenie Rusi* (Moscow, 1988); B. N. Florja–G. G. Litavrin, “Christianization of the Nations of Central and South-East Europe and the Conversion of Old Rus’,” *Byzantinoslavica* 49 (1988): 185–99; S. A. Ivanov, “Rol’ xristianizacii v otnošenijax Vizantii so Slavjanami,” in *Slavjane i ix sosedi. Meždunarodnye otnošenija v èpoxu feodalizma* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 4–6 (good points). Cf. also fn. 7 below.—For “an earthly god of sorts,” cf. Theophylact of Ochrid, *Letter* 12, 5–6, ed. P. Gautier, *Théophylacte d’Achrida, Lettres* (Thessalonica, 1986), p. 167.

² Cf. the Apostolic Letter *Euntes in mundum* (January 25, 1988), 1. The quotations are Mt 28: 19, Mk 16: 15 (Christ’s words) and I Tim 2: 3–4 (St. Paul). On Christianity as a world missionary religion, cf. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed. (1986), esp. pp. 15–119 (to the year 1500): excellent, with a good (but mostly English) bibliography, pp. 479–99.

throughout this lecture, especially when we come to speak of governmental missions.³

Before we take leave of our imaginary Japanese tourist—curious, but not quite well-versed in Christian church history—we owe him a bird's eye view of the missionary achievements of Christianity on the eve of the baptism of Rus'. By the middle of the tenth century, the church ruled by the patriarchate of Rome could look back with pride upon the past successes of its missions. Much of the heartland of Europe had been won for the faith; St. Augustine of Canterbury returned Britain to the fold, and eighth-century England gave St. Boniface to Germany; Charlemagne had converted the Saxons by sword and by baptism; further east, the Bohemians and Poles were, or were about to become, Christian. For all that, much was still to be done. Scandinavia, Iceland, and Finland were outside the Christian realm; so were the Prussians, amidst whom St. Wojtěch-Adalbert was to suffer a missionary martyr's death about 1000; and so were the Lithuanians, whose time would come only centuries later. By about 950 western missions could claim to have extended Christianity over a respectable if not overwhelmingly large area. The brilliant future of these missions still lay ahead.

The story was different for various churches ruled by eastern patriarchates, whether Orthodox or Monophysite. By the mid-tenth century, only one important achievement, the subject of our gathering, lay ahead of one of them, the church of Constantinople; the great triumphs of the eastern missions were in the past—but what a past it had been! In Africa, Berber tribes were converted after the destruction of the Vandal state in Justinian's time. Ethiopia was Christianized in two stages, once in the fourth century by a free-lance missionary taking his cues from Alexandria, another time in the sixth by a Syrian team of saints. Under Justin I, an Ethiopian-Byzantine coalition waged a war against the South Arabian king of Jewish faith. After his defeat, Christianity triumphed in his state. South of the Isis Temple in the Egyptian Philae and south of today's Aswan Dam, the three Nubian kingdoms, the southernmost one lying in today's Sudan, joined the Monophysite or Orthodox form of Christianity about 540, to remain Christian

³ Among the vast literature on Eusebius's political theology, cf., e.g., R. Farina, *L'impero e l'imperatore cristiano in Eusebio di Cesarea. La prima teologia politica del cristianesimo* (Zürich, 1966), esp. pp. 193–94, 252–55, 312–19; T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1981), pp. 253–55 and 393–94; G. Barbero, "La patristica," in L. Firpo, ed., *Storia delle idee politiche, economiche e sociali*, II, 1 (1985), esp. pp. 496–503, 539. For later periods, cf. the paradoxical essay by P. Christou, "The Missionary Task of the Byzantine Emperor," *Byzantina* 3 (1971): 279–86 (the emperor was viewed as successor to the apostles; yet the motivation behind his activity was not primarily political).

until the late fourteenth century. In the area of the Danube, Byzantium converted the king of the Herules and his entourage in Justinian's early years.

Between the sixth and the early tenth centuries, peoples of the eastern shore of the Black Sea and of the Caucasus, the Abasgians, the Tzanes, and the Lazes, received baptism from the empire through their rulers or owing to the efforts of missionaries. (The conversion of Armenians and Georgians, the fourth-century joiners of the Christian community, is a story apart.) Huns residing in the Bosphorus on the Crimea and Sabirian Huns living north of the Caucasus were baptized under Justinian, the former through their ruler, the latter through the work of free-lance Armenian missionaries; the latter were helped, however, by the imperial government. The Balkans and Central Europe of the ninth and tenth centuries were the stage of Byzantine missionary activity with which this audience is well familiar. I shall merely list the second conversion of the Serbs, the government-supported mission to the Dalmatian Slavs under Basil I (d. 886), the baptism of the Bulgarians under Michael III (a. 864), and the two glorious failures—the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia and attempts to establish Byzantine Christianity first in what was Pannonia and then in what became Hungary.

In the east, and starting with the fifth century, Byzantine Christianity, partly in its Hellenic and Orthodox, but mostly in its Semitic and Monophysite garb, brought about the conversion of Arabic tribes loosely dependent on the empire or on Sassanian Persia. Proselytizing went on in Syria, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and in the Sassanian Empire proper. The latter activity was carried on at the risk of death, both for the converts and for the converting missionaries. Later on, the vicissitudes of trade and of the movements of peoples caused by Arab and Mongol conquests sent Byzantine converts much further into the East—the thirty thousand Alans said to have formed the guard of Kublai Khan in Beijing in the second half of the thirteenth century were Orthodox descendants of the Caucasian Alans converted about 900, roughly in the time of the Byzantine patriarch Nicholas Mystikos.⁴ Later in the century, the conversion of the Alans was to be

⁴ The far-flung Nestorian missions in Central Asia, India, China, and Mongolia are beyond our purview, for they cannot properly be "seen from Byzantium." Towards the end of the fifth century, Nestorians, persecuted on Byzantine soil, got the upper hand among Christians in the Sassanian Empire; henceforth, the missionary activity of their "Persian Church" was carried out mostly from Sassanian Ctesiphon.—On Orthodox Alans in China, cf., e.g., J. Dauvillier, "Byzantins d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," *Revue des études byzantines* 11 (1953): 62–87, esp. p. 78; on Orthodox Sogdians of Xwārezm who had a liturgy translated into their own language (a language last mentioned in 1307), cf. *ibid.*, pp. 67–68. It seems that the "Sugdi" of the *Life* of Constantine, Apostle of the Slavs, 16:8, were Sogdians (in Greek Σόγδοι). [I see now that the same idea has already been proposed by L. Řeháček, "Sugdové v

followed by the final conversion of Rus'. At the time of the latter event, the Byzantine Chancellery and the Patriarchal Palace could draw upon five hundred years of missionary experience.

II

Byzantine missions were most intensely pursued within two spans of time, the sixth and the ninth–tenth centuries. Thus the religious activism of the empire started late. With two exceptions, we cannot name any Germanic peoples that would have adopted Christianity en masse outside of the imperial boundaries, before settling on imperial soil.⁵ The empire's sixth-century activism may be a corollary of the power struggle with Sassanian Iran with whom the empire competed along the vast zone extending from the Caucasus to the Red Sea. The missionary activity of the ninth and tenth centuries fell into a period when the empire was getting the upper hand, both in the Balkans in its relations with the Bulgarians and in Asia Minor in its struggle with the Arabs, and when it had recreated material preconditions for reestablishing elite culture in letters, visual arts, and in the art of conspicuous consumption.⁶ On the eve of the conversion of Rus' Constantinople was, with the possible exceptions of Cairo and Baghdad, the most civilized and glamorous city of the world and the barbarians, both Christian and pagan, knew it. The empire used well its prestige with these barbarians, even though in the tenth century few practical options for missionary activity were open to it, perhaps fewer than those open to the contemporary West. There were four such options: missions to the Hungarians, the Khazars, the Pečenegs, and to the Rus'. Hungarians were the only Byzantine defeat, having been won over by the West by the year 1000.⁷ Negotiations directed both from Kherson and Constantinople for establishing a Byzantine hierarchy in Khazaria went well at the beginning of the century,⁸ but by the

stsl. Životě Konstantinově," *Slavica Pragensia* 13 (1971): 53–70, esp. pp. 65–69.]

⁵ The exceptions are the Rugi and the Lombards. Cf. Thompson, "Christianity," esp. pp. 76–78.

⁶ On the renewed strength of the empire in the ninth century, see W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival: 780–842* (Stanford, Cal., 1988).

⁷ This was an honorable defeat. True, Prince Géza and his son Stephen adhered to the Roman church in the 970s, but the first Hungarian chieftains were baptized, and the first bishop for Hungary was ordained, in Constantinople in the middle of the tenth century. Byzantine ecclesiastical influences continued in Hungary until well after the eleventh century. Cf. Gy. Moravcsik, "The Role of the Byzantine Church," in the same author's *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 102–119, and Gy. Györffy, "La christianisation de la Hongrie," in this volume of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, cf. esp. bibliography in fns. 1 and 29.

⁸ Nicholas Mystikos, *Letters* 68 and 106, ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 314–15; 388–91; 554–55; 569. The date of both letters is 919–920; a bishop, requested by the Khazars, was

second half of that century Khazaria was no more; some Pečeneg tribes were converted and settled along the Danube by the mid-eleventh century;⁹ there remained the Rus'. And we know what happened to the Rus'.

III

Byzantine missions can be divided into three categories. The first category comprises missions in which the imperial government intervened militarily to back up the cause of the faith: such were the cases of the Abasgians and the Tzanes and of the Huns of the Crimean Bosphorus. The second encompasses those missions in which the government was involved by means of diplomacy, but often appears in our sources as merely reacting to the initiative of foreign chieftains who either applied or re-applied for membership in the Christian community or showed preference for the Byzantine form of Christianity: such were the cases of the Lazes in the sixth century and of the Khazars, the Dalmatians, and the Moravians in the ninth and the tenth. Finally, missions of the third kind were the work of sometimes officially supported but more often free-lance activists filled with Christian or partisan zeal: such was the case of the Monophysite missionaries either ferreting out the remains of paganism in Asia Minor or criss-crossing the eastern zone that encompassed both the Byzantine and the Sassanian states. At some time the Monophysite missionary empire covered a territory larger than that which belonged to the Latin and Greek Orthodox Christianities taken together.

Of these categories of missions, the first, involving military or police intervention in case of need, was the least important one. Even attempts to convert the Jews in the ninth century were done by offering incentives rather than by applying force.¹⁰ Byzantium provides no parallel to the Germanic conversions by sword, whether those of the Saxons by Charlemagne or the Obotrite Slavs by Henry the Lion, for instance, or of the Prussians by the Teutonic knights. Even the quasi-total assimilation of the Slavs of Greece, a process that was well advanced by the tenth century, was hardly attributable to Byzantine military campaigns—for few of them are attested—or to the dynamism of Byzantine missionaries in Slavic

about to be chosen by the bishop of Kherson and ordained in Constantinople.

⁹ Ioannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Κωνστ. ὁ Μονομάχος, 16 = 456, 57–457, 14, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973).

¹⁰ Cf. the main passage in Theophanes Continuatus, 5, 95 = 341,8–342,6, Bonn [unless otherwise stated, all Byzantine historians will be quoted hereafter from the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, published in Bonn]; for other passages concerning the conversion of the Jews under Basil I, cf. J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1939), nos. 61–72; 76; 78–79.

enclaves—for we hear of them only in the tenth century. It was rather the result of something comparable to what had happened to the Germanic invaders settled inside the frontiers of the empire a few centuries earlier: an important impulse toward assimilation—read Christianization—must have come from the very own elite of the Slavs settled in Greece. This elite, of which we can find traces in the ninth century, wished to establish spiritual links with the world in the midst of which it was living and in which it wanted further to advance.¹¹

The second category of missions, those in which diplomatic activity was camouflaged as a reaction to requests from outside, constitutes the bulk of Byzantine missions and in all probability includes the ones to the Rus'. The best description of at least two missions of this sort is to be read in the *Lives* of Cyril and Methodius. These *Lives* are Byzantine documents. They glorify two Byzantines. They rest in part on Byzantine texts written in Greek. The author of one of them was familiar with the Greek milieu of Rome and was imbued with a Byzantine world view; finally, both texts reflect Byzantine missionary practices.¹² For all that, I suspect that we owe the preservation of these treasures to the fact that they were written in the barbaric Slavic tongue. Not a single line in Greek contemporary sources, relatively plentiful, refers to the Slavic or to the more numerous non-Slavic activities of the two apostles. When we reflect on this we should not be surprised that roughly contemporary Byzantine sources, less plentiful for the end of the tenth century than they are for the ninth, do not mention the baptism of Volodimer; they devote only a miserable couple of lines to that baptism's circumstances.¹³

¹¹ On this topic, cf. the unpublished paper I delivered in Rome in 1985 at the celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the death of St. Methodius. There I postulated that the fabulously rich widow Danelis or Danelina (cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 5, 11, and 73–77 = 226, 23–228, 21; 316, 20–321, 10, Bonn) was a representative of the ninth-century Slavic elite of the Peloponnesus in the process of assimilation.

¹² The preceding sentences sum up my views on the cultural coordinates and sources of the *Lives* of the Slavic apostles. At this point, they have to be taken on faith.

¹³ Cf. Leo Diaconus, *Hist.*, 175, 9–10, Bonn (capture of Kherson by the Tauroscythians); Scylitzes, *Hist.*, βασιλ. καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, 17 = 336, 88–92, ed. Thurn (alliance with Volodimer against Bardas Phocas; Volodimer's marriage with Basil II's sister Anna). The story which introduces Volodimer into the narrative of the ninth-century baptism of the Rhos is a late compilation ultimately based on Scylitzes, *Hist.*, βασιλ., 43 = 165, 17–166, 43, ed. Thurn. For its text, cf. W. Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891), xxvii–xxx and 50, 21–51, 23 and P. Schreiner, "Ein wiederaufgefundener Text der *Narratio de Russorum Conversione* und einige Bemerkungen zur Christianisierung der Russen in byzantinischen Quellen," *Byzantinobulgarica* 5 (1978): 297–303; cf. also a late story of the baptism, ed. C. Papoulidis, "The Baptism of the Russians in the Ivron Codices 1317 and 1319 of the 18th Century," *Balkan Studies* 22 (1981): 80, 7–81, 36 (based in part directly on Theophanes Continuatus, 5, 97). For the latest bibliography, cf. F. B. Poljakov, "Nachlese zum 'Novum Auc-

Stories of missions of the third category, those carried out by government-supported or by free-lance activists of the east, are the most fun to read. We owe the bulk of them to the Monophysite John of Ephesus, who wrote in Syriac. They are replete with colorful, if not always edifying, detail. A few illustrations: two rival missions, the Orthodox one supported by Justinian and the Monophysite one supported by his wife Theodora, vied for the ear of the Nubian ruler; the story tells us how Theodora browbeat the Byzantine frontier governor and how the Monophysites won the race by ruse; we further hear how during the two years of his stay with the Nobads, Julian, Theodora's Monophysite chief of mission, sat naked but for a loin cloth in caves filled with water from the third to the tenth hour of the day on account of the unbearable heat of the place;¹⁴ how the Monophysite bishop Symeon successfully debated the Nestorians, but invited the Sassanian governor, that is a pagan Magian, to be the debate's umpire—to us a humiliating display of sectarian zeal;¹⁵ how for seven years the same Symeon collected on special linen cloths the beliefs of various Christian peoples in many towns, not out of scholarly interest, but to prove that the Nestorians were a minority religion; this protégé of Theodora redeemed himself in our eyes by converting the magnates of a Saracen tribe and having them build a church on that tribe's territory.¹⁶

Along with such amusing stories and with reports of small-scale successes at converting Bedouins, we read of missionary efforts of staggering proportions: Jacob Barradaeus, the founder of the Jacobite Church, was both supported and hounded by the government. As mostly the latter was the case, he had to be swift in his travels to avoid arrest. Nevertheless, he is said to have ordained one hundred thousand priests, both within and without the frontiers of the empire.¹⁷ In Asia Minor, John of Ephesus acted as agent of the government. He himself claims to have built over ninety churches and ten monasteries there. He is also credited with having baptized twenty-three thousand souls and with having burned two thousand pagan books in the province of Asia alone. Using Justinian's funds he converted many thousands of souls from idolatry in Caria alone, had twenty-four churches built there, and converted a central pagan temple, to which fifteen

tarium BHG, '' Byzantion 58 (1988): 186 and fn. 14.

¹⁴ John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.*, pars III, lib. IV, capp. 6–7, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Corpus Script. Christ. Orientalium*, Scriptorum Syri, Ser. 3, vol. 3 (Louvain, 1936), 136–39.

¹⁵ John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, I, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis* (henceforth *PO*), 17 (1923): 144, 147–52.

¹⁶ John of Ephesus, *Lives* (as in fn. 15), I, *PO*, 17 (1923): 154–57; 140–41.

¹⁷ John of Ephesus, *Lives* (fn. 15 above), II, *PO*, 18 (1924): 690–697 (696: Jacob ordains as many as one hundred thousand priests!); III, *PO*, 19 (1925): 153–58.

hundred smaller temples were subordinate, into a monastery.¹⁸

Sometimes mass conversions were brought about not by a peripatetic missionary, but by a charismatic sedentary figure. Cyril of Scythopolis, a sixth-century Orthodox source, tells us what happened not far from Jerusalem in the twenties of the fifth century. An Arab tribal chief, a former vassal of the Sassanian Persians, moved over to Byzantine territory and met the famous ascetic Euthymios, who healed his paraplegic son. The chief and his family were baptized. Soon the chief returned with many Saracen men, women, and children and asked that they be given the word of salvation. This larger group was duly baptized after some catechesis: in gratitude for this, the tribal chief built for Euthymios a bakery, three cells, a cistern, and a church. Soon the whole tribe settled near Euthymios, who traced for them the outline of a church, and made a layout for tents to be located around it, indulging in a town planning of sorts; in this way, he contributed to the Bedouins' sedentarization. Euthymios often visited the new settlers until he appointed a priest and deacons for them. More Bedouins joined the original tribe, so that a number of camps came into being around the ascetic. Thus, the source tells us, "the wolves of Arabia" became part of Euthymios's spiritual flock. Finally, upon Euthymios's proposal, the wealthy tribal chieftain was made "Bishop of the Tents" as a most appropriate person to guide souls to salvation. The patriarch of Jerusalem approved the idea.¹⁹

IV

When we look at Byzantine missions as a whole, we can discern characteristics that they have in common. One such characteristic is shared by almost all. Byzantine governmental missions (and even some free-lance ones) were missions from above to below. The same mechanism worked among the barbarians as well. Christianity may have taken first roots in a barbarian land through trade or through the efforts of Byzantine prisoners of war forcibly settled there—such were the Christian beginnings for the Georgians, for Ulfila's Goths, and for Tsar Krum's or Omurtag's ninth-

¹⁸ John of Ephesus, *Lives* (fn. 15 above), II, *PO*, 18 (1924):660; *ibid.*, *Hist. Eccl.* (fn. 14 above), pars III, lib. III, capp. 36–37, pp. 125–28; F. Nau, "Analyse de la seconde partie inédite de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Jean d'Asie," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 2 (1897):482 (seventy thousand pagans converted, ninety-six churches and twelve monasteries built); for other sources, cf. Engelhardt, *Mission* (fn. 1 above), pp. 12–19.

¹⁹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig, 1939), 19–25, esp. pp. 24–25.

century Bulgarians²⁰—but Christianity's final triumph was due to the decision of the barbaric ruler and of his elite. No matter whether the convert came to Constantinople in person or wrote for missionaries to come to him; whether he was the king of the Huns, the Lazes, the Herules or a Bedouin tribal chief settled near a charismatic ascetic; at the decisive stage it was the head of a state or tribe through whom the Grace of the Holy Ghost descended first upon his family and then seeped down to the people. Upon reflection we find that this was a Christian practice of long-standing, attested at one end by Athenagoras's apology of the new faith addressed to Emperor Marcus Aurelius in the second century, and at the other by the papal envoys who had hopes of converting Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth.

In listing further common characteristics of Byzantine missions I shall lump together fact and the devices of imperial diplomacy and propaganda. The barbarian ruler about to be baptized and his entourage were showered with lavish gifts of gold, silver, and silk, as well as baptismal, garments.²¹ If the ruler came to the capital, a festive reception would be arranged for him in the palace; he would be given a high place of precedence at the imperial table and thus displace and occasionally displease high Byzantine dignitaries.²² The emperor would act as godfather of the newly baptized ruler—our examples abound. That ruler would sometimes be given a Byzantine lady of high standing in marriage.²³ On the territory newly gained for the

²⁰ For prisoners of war and merchants as carriers of the new faith to the pagans, cf., e.g., Thompson, "Christianity," pp. 57–62; cf. also Zachariah of Mitylene, *Syriac Chronicle*, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), p. 329 (Roman captives among the "Huns"). For the times of Krum and Omurtag, cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 5, 4 = 216, 9–217, 20, Bonn. That Byzantine missions were "from above to below" was well seen by Engelhardt, *Mission* (fn. 1 above), pp. 77, 89, 170.

²¹ Some random examples: John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.* (fn. 14 above), pars III, lib. IV, 6 = p. 136, 13–14; 7 = p. 138, 14–15 (Nobads); Malalas, *Chron.*, 413, 10–21, Bonn and *Chron. Paschale*, 613, 19–614, 9, Bonn (Tzath); Malalas, *Chron.*, 428, 1–2, Bonn (Grepes); *ibid.*, 431, 19–20 (Grod); Scylitzes, *Hist.*, Κωνσταντ. πάλιν αὐτοκρ., 5 = 239, 63–64 (Bulcsu).—On providing baptismal garments for pagans of Corsica, cf. Pope Gregory the Great, Letter 8, 1 (a. 597) in *Monum. Germ. Hist., Epistulae*, II (1957), p. 2, 4; on providing poor Jews of Agrigentum with them, cf. Letter 8, 23 (a. 598), *ibid.*, p. 25, 1–2.

²² Here belongs the story of Amorkesos (Imru' al-Qais) who visited Constantinople under Leo I in the 470s, ate at the imperial table, participated in the deliberations of the senate, and was seated above the patricians—this in the hope that he would become a Christian. Cf., e.g., C. de Boor, ed., *Excerpta de legationibus*, II (Berlin, 1903), pp. 568–69 (from Malchus of Philadelphia; I would prefer πρὸ τῶν πατρικίων instead of πρωτοπατρικίων in 569, 24–25).

²³ Some examples: Justinian I (d. 565) was godfather of the Hunnic king Grod and of the king of the Herules Grepes (Agrippas); Heraclius (d. 641), or his brother Theodore, of a "Hun" (Onogundur?) ruler; Leo IV was godfather of the Bulgarian khan Telerig, about 777; Constantine VII was godfather of the Hungarian chieftain Bulcsu, about 948. Under Justin I,

faith, missionaries would introduce such agricultural improvements as the culture and grafting of fruit trees and planting of vegetables.²⁴ Before conversion the newly baptized ruler—for which read the newly baptized upper class—would view the land of the Romans as the promised land. Back home, he would feel “one” with the empire as a member of a new family, would wish “to submit to the unbreakable community” of the Byzantines and would, or at least should, keep eternal peace with them.²⁵ This family feeling would extend not only to the empire itself, the source of Light; in theory, it would also include Christian barbarian neighbors of the convert. “I will help expel your enemies from your land,” wrote the king of the Alodiaeans to the king of the Nobads; “for your territory is my territory and your people are my people, now that I am a Christian²⁶ <just as you are>.” In the Byzantine version of things the new convert would ask to be a vassal of the empire and would undergo the obligation of defending the emperor’s possessions or of sending troops to him upon the latter’s demand.²⁷ But even the Byzantines had to admit that on one occasion a converted ruler extracted territorial concessions from the empire in exchange for embracing Christianity.²⁸

V

While we have a fair idea of the workings of Byzantine missions on the higher governmental and ecclesiastical levels, we are poorly informed about

Tzath of Lazica, baptized in Constantinople, married a (grand?) daughter of a patrician; cf. Malalas, *Chron.*, 413, 7–9, Bonn and *Chron. Paschale*, 613, 14–17, Bonn.

²⁴ Zachariah of Mitylene, *Syriac Chronicle* (fn. 20 above), p. 330 (in the sixth century, the Armenian bishop Mak went to the Sabirian Huns, “planted plants and sowed various kinds of seed and . . . baptized many”); Theophylact Hephastios of Ochrid, *Vita Clementis*, 23, 68 = ed. Milev (1955), 78 (in the ninth century, Clement of Ochrid brought the culture of fruit trees to the Bulgarians from Greece). For the West, cf. F. Flaskamp, *Die Missionsmethode des hl. Bonifazius* (Gesch. Darstellungen und Quellen, hrsg. von L. Schmitz-Kallenberg, 8), 2nd ed. (Hildesheim, 1929), p. 48 (St. Boniface’s missionaries cleared forests, introduced viniculture and, most probably, better strains of vegetables).

²⁵ Theophanes Continuatus, 4, 15 = 164, 21–165, 2; 165, 8–10, Bonn (Bulgarians).

²⁶ John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.* (fn. 14 above), pars III, lib. IV, 52 = p. 179, esp. 179, 15, quoting Ruth 1: 16 and 3 Reg. 22: 5.

²⁷ For an example of vassalage as consequence of baptism, see Malalas, *Chron.*, 434, 10, Bonn (“India,” i.e., Ethiopia of Axum); cf. also the cases of Tzath of Lazica and Grepes, king of the Herules, Engelhardt, *Mission* (fn. 1 above), pp. 81–82, 84. According to the Slavic *Life* of Cyril-Constantine, cap. 11, 2, ca. 860 the Khazar kagan, hoping to be baptized soon, offered to be the Byzantine emperor’s friend (i.e., ally) and to serve him, wherever the latter would wish to be served. For further examples, cf., e.g., I. Dujčev, “Légendes byzantines sur la conversion des Bulgares,” in idem, *Medioevo byzantinoslavo*, III (Rome, 1971), pp. 63–75, esp. p. 64, fn. 3. For sending of troops, see p. 25 and fns. 50 and 51 below.

²⁸ The ruler was Boris-Michael of Bulgaria. For a euphemistic description of the territorial adjustment, cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 4, 16 = 164, 23–165, 6, Bonn.

the nuts and bolts of these enterprises. We can infer from one case that teams of missionaries were first sent out to prepare the ground for the arrival of the regular hierarchy in the mission land; that these missionaries felt uncomfortable abroad, complained about living conditions there and were spelled by others.²⁹ We also know that some of them were rewarded with high positions upon their return from the hardship posts. Thus, Euthymios, missionary to the Alans, became Abbot on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia and an envoy to the Bulgarian tsar Symeon.³⁰

These are, however, slim pickings. We are also poorly served when it comes to two essentials: the language in which the Word was preached and the methods by which the new message was passed on to the next generation. We read and reread the *Lives* of Cyril and Methodius and the Greek *Life* of their disciple Clement. Beyond that, we are reduced to *obiter dicta*, contained mainly in non-Greek sources. We learn from Syriac texts that the Scriptures had been translated into the language of the Sabirian Huns, probably by an Armenian missionary.³¹ We further note that the protégé of Empress Theodora, Bishop Symeon, the Illuminator of the Saracens, had the gift of tongues. Wherever he went he spoke the local language on the third day of his stay there.³² In search of parallels we consult the ample documentation about St. Willibrord's, St. Willehad's, St. Liudger's, and above all, St. Boniface's mission to eighth-century Germany; and find that the latter and his team preached in the dialects of the Frisians, Hessians, and Thuringians; this was commendable, though it must have been easy for speakers of a Germanic tongue to do so (St. Liudger was a native Frisian). St. Boniface understood the needs for preaching in the tongue of the prospective converts so well that he predicted—wrongly, as we now know—that the *rustica gens hominum Sclaforum et Scythia dura* (presumably comprising Ukrainian territories) would never see the light of baptism because the language of the Slavs was unknown to the missionaries.³³

²⁹ Cf. Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 79, p. 339 (fn. 8 above; date: 912); *Letter* 133, esp. 7–13, p. 432 (date: ca. 915); *Letter* 135, pp. 436–42 (date: 918?). On the system of rotation (*iterumque misit* . . .) practiced by the church of Salzburg in its missionary activity in Carinthia, cf. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* . . ., cap. 5, ed., e.g., H. Wolfram, *Conversio* . . . (Vienna, 1979), pp. 43–44, and Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," *Speculum* 28, no. 4 (1953): 709.

³⁰ Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 9, 264–73 (fn. 8 above), p. 68; date of the letter: 917.

³¹ Zachariah of Mitylene, *Syriac Chronicle* (as in fn. 20 above), pp. 329–30.

³² John of Ephesus, *Lives* (fn. 15 above), II, *PO*, 18 (1924): 155.

³³ Quoted after F. Flaskamp, *Die Missionsmethode* (fn. 24 above), p. 33 and fn. 161, whose interpretation I follow. On lack of evidence that Frankish and Bavarian missionaries knew Slavic and on the use of interpreters by those missionaries, cf. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary," (fn. 29 above), p. 715, esp. fn. 66. Thirty-six years after his "Carolingian Missionary," Sullivan provided us with the latest bibliography on the techniques adopted in the

When we turn to the Greek-writing Byzantines, however, we meet with virtual silence on the subject of missionary languages. Thus, when we are through with quoting and re quoting the opening passages of John Chrysostom's *Sermon* in the Gothic Church at Constantinople,³⁴ we point out, quite correctly, that the Byzantines were aware of translations of the Holy Writ done on their own territory or in neighboring lands and we recall the Slavic apostles' self-serving attack on the trilingual heresy.³⁵ Many of us still infer from this that Byzantium displayed a benevolent attitude toward national languages. Alas, this benevolence, as opposed to benevolent neglect or to tactical considerations, is hardly attested. Not even in John Chrysostom's *Sermon*, if we read it in context of John's struggle against the Arians and upper-class pagans,³⁶ and certainly not in Theophylact Hephæstos of Ochrid—whose portrait has been recently drawn with a great deal of empathy and judgment by Professor Obolensky—even though Theophylact's *Life* of Clement rests on some Slavic or at least pro-Slavic sources.³⁷ In a word, it is difficult to square this postulated benevolence with Byzantine cultural pride, well attested between the ninth and eleventh centuries, a pride that accorded the Greek tongue the first place among all languages.³⁸

course of Carolingian missions in his "The Carolingian Age: Reflections on its Place in the History of the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 64, no. 2 (1989): 277, fn. 22.

³⁴ Migne, *PG*, 63, cols. 499–510, esp. cols. 499–502, 503–504.

³⁵ Cf. *Life* of Cyril-Constantine, 16.

³⁶ The point of Migne, *PG* 63, cols. 499–502 was that Greek pagan philosophic subtleties were no longer a living force even among Greek speakers (ὁμοφώνοις), while the unadorned Christian truth carried great authority among non-Greeks (ἑτερογλώσσοις). It was also sound tactics of John to provide the Goths, usually of Arian observance, with Orthodox priests, deacons, and readers who were "of the same tongue (ὁμογλώττους) as they"; cf. Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.*, 5, 30 = p. 330, ed. L. Parmentier and L. Scheidweiler, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1954).

³⁷ Cf. the harsh words I reserved for Theophylact in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 229, fn. 32; for a more sympathetic treatment, cf. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 34–82, esp. 77–82. It remains for our context that Theophylact deplored the poverty of Latin (cf. *Discussion... Concerning Latin Errors*, ed. P. Gautier, *Théophylacte d'Achride, Discours...* [Thessalonica, 1980], 257, 5–6; 11–15) and scorned the "beastly" Bulgarian clergy of about 900 for their inadequate knowledge of Greek (cf. *Vita Clementis*, 22, 66 = ed. Milev [1955], 76).

³⁸ The *locus classicus* is the Letter of Ps.-Photius to Zachary, Catholicus of Armenia. The text as we have it is hardly by Photius (cf. B. Outtier in Laourdas–Westerink, *Photii...* [as in fn. 47 below], III [1985]), XI, but it is old enough. For a translation of the relevant passage and information on editions, cf. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium...* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 239–40.—Doubts concerning Byzantine benevolence towards foreign liturgical languages seem to be gaining ground. Cf., in addition to my opinion in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 228–31, Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (as in fn. 1 above), pp. 151–53; Řeháček, "Sugdové" (as in fn. 4 above), pp. 60–61; and Vavřínek, "The Introduction" (as in fn. 1 above), pp. 255–66.

In short, Greek historical reports on Byzantine missions are a cause of frustration for seekers of concrete detail. Perhaps all is not lost, however, for along with the historical reports on these missions, we possess a fairly vast category of texts which I would like to call imaginary reports. This class of texts, as yet untapped for our purposes, comprises more than half a dozen items and amounts to well over one thousand pages. I am referring to novels of sorts; they are either novels about the apostles set in the time of the beginnings of Christianity in the first century, when everybody was a pagan and when missionary activity was the hero's only task; or they are hagiographic novels set in a later time where the hero confronted the Jews or the Muslims. Among the candidates for our study the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles may be of too early a date to be of use, except as sources for literary motifs in hagiographic novels and as texts that established working of miracles as the missionary's most effective tool. The remaining texts, however, may yield results both for literary and traditional historians of the missions, even later missions; for these texts date from the eighth to the tenth centuries. At the least they tell us what people contemporary with the first missions to the Rus' imagined missionary activity to have been like; at the most they might have drawn upon the actual missionary experience of their own time for their anachronisms. Here belongs the disputation of Gregentios, Bishop of the Himyarites, with the Jew Herban³⁹—containing some structural parallels to Constantine-Cyril's dispute with the Khazars; here also belongs the long *Life* of Theodore of Edessa in which we hear of a conversion, and the subsequent martyr's death, of a caliph in the time of Emperor Michael III (d. 867).⁴⁰

The pride of place, however, should be reserved for two *Lives* set in the first century after Christ. These are the interminable eighth-century *Life* of a supposed contemporary of St. Peter, St. Pankratios of Taormina in Sicily—the full text of which has recently been established in an important work by Dr. Cynthia Stallman,⁴¹ and the shorter *Life* of Apostle Andrew

³⁹ Gregentios: cf. F. Halkin, ed., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed. (Brussels, 1957) (hereafter *BHG*), nos. 705–706i; idem, *Auctarium BHG* (1969), pp. 77–78; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (1984), p. 82.

⁴⁰ Theodore of Edessa: F. Halkin, *BHG*³, nos. 1744–1744e (no. 1744 is 120 pages long!); idem, *Auctarium BHG* (1969), p. 180; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (1984), pp. 202–203.

⁴¹ Pankratios: F. Halkin, *BHG*³, nos. 1410–1410m; idem, *Auctarium BHG* (1968), p. 146; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (1984), p. 165. Cf. now Cynthia Jean Stallman, *The Life of S. Pancratius of Taormina*, I–II, unpublished Dr. Phil. diss., Oxford, 1986 (hereafter, Stallman, *Pankratios*).

dating soon after 800 and in part dependent on that of Pankratios.⁴² Pankratios, a missionary in his own right, behaved quite reasonably in matters of language. We should not inquire here how Avars could find their way into Sicily or South Italy in the first or even eighth century after Christ—but they did, after having been made captive. When these Avars were about to be baptized, St. Pankratios asked the chief authority of Taormina what language they spoke; thus, he asked a question parallel to the one Constantine-Cyril had asked Emperor Michael III about the Moravians. The Avars, it turned out, spoke neither Greek nor Latin. Consequently, in every sentence devoted to Pankratios's subsequent conversation with them we are reminded that he talked with them through an interpreter. The very moment the Avars had been baptized, they began to speak Greek, a miracle to be sure, but one that, if not taken literally, contained a kernel of historical truth.⁴³

The *Life* of Pankratios offers other information for which we look in vain in historical missionary reports. It gives a list of liturgical and ritual books and objects that the newly ordained priests and bishops took with them on their missionary journeys or used in combating the idols. It refers to books containing scriptural passages, meaning lectionaries, that were to be read to the newly baptized on great feasts. It mentions the copying and correcting of books needed by the new flock. It describes model books containing representations of the Life of Christ or of Old and New Testament events to be put on the walls of churches that were to be built in the newly Christianized areas; moreover, in an early anticipation of slide lectures, model books

⁴² Andrew the Apostle: F. Halkin, *BHG*³, no. 102; idem, *Auctarium BHG* (1969), p. 22; idem, *Novum Auctarium BHG* (1984), p. 21.

⁴³ Stallman, *Pankratios*, I, pp. 269–74, esp. pp. 269, 14–270, 4: ἤρξατο οὖν ὁ μακάριος περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας [i.e. Avar captives] ἐρωτᾶν αὐτόν, ποίου γένους ἐστὶν καὶ ποῖα γλῶσσα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ φησὶν, “τέκνον, ἔχεις Ἑλληνας τῆς σοφίας πρᾶξιν εἰληφότας;” ὁ οὖν Βονιφάτιος πρὸς τὸν μακάριον, “οὐχί, πάτερ, ἀλλὰ πάντες Ἀβάροι εἰσὶν, ἔθνος πάνυ μιάρων, μηδ’ ὅλως τῆς πατρικῆς γλώσσης προσεγγίζοντα. Cf. pp. 270, 15–271, 3: ἐνέγκας [sc. the governor] δὲ καὶ ἐρμηνέα, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι, “ἡμεῖς Χριστιανοὶ ἐσμὲν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ ἐὰν μάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστί, ποιούμεν ὑμᾶς Χριστιανούς.” Cf. pp. 271, 12–272, 1: ὁ δὲ μακάριος διὰ τοῦ ἐρμηνέως εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, “ἄνδρες, εἴπατε ἡμῖν τὰ μεγάλα, ἃ ἐωράκατε, καὶ ἡμεῖς λέγωμεν ὑμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ τὸν λόγον.” οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες πρὸς τὸν μακάριον διὰ τοῦ ἐρμηνέως, “ἡμεῖς Ἀβαρικὸν ἔθνος ἐσμὲν. Cf. pp. 274, 7–10: καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν φοβερόν θέαμα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀλάλῳ ἔθνει, ὅτι, ὡς ἐκυβίστουσαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀνήρχοντο πεφωτισμένοι, διανοίγεσθαι τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν καὶ λέγειν, “δόξα σοι, Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον φῶς.” In *Pankratios*, II, pp. 269–88, Stallman makes a valiant attempt to uphold the episode's general historicity.

were to be used simultaneously with readings from the Gospels.⁴⁴ *The Life*

⁴⁴ Liturgical and ritual books and objects, Stallman, *Pankratios*, I, p. 11, 2: “φέρε μοι τὸν τόμον τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ ἐνθρονιασμοῦ [sic].” Cf. pp. 35, 11–36, 2: ἦν γὰρ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Πέτρος δεδωκὼς αὐτοῖς ἅπασαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κατάστασιν, τόμους δύο τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, εὐαγγέλια δύο, ἀποστόλους δύο, οὓς ἐκήρυξεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος, δύο δισκοποτήρια ἀργυρᾶ, δύο σταυροὺς ἔχοντας ῥάβδους κεδρίνους, τὴν διακόσμησιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἡγουν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν Παλαιάν τε καὶ τὴν Νέαν Διαθήκην, ἃ ἐγένοντο κατὰ κέλευσιν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. Cf. pp. 44, 5–14: καὶ λαβὼν ὁ μακάριος Παγκράτιος τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰ ἅγια εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς αὐτοῦ δύο ἐπιστολάς καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἃ καὶ ποιήσας ἐν πίναξιν χαρτῶφιν ἦν σὺν τῇ τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἰκόνι, καὶ ταύτας τὰς δύο εἰκόνας σὺν τῷ σταυρῷ διακατέχων, προσήλθε τῷ Φάλκονι, καὶ ἐγγίσας τῷ ἀνδριάντι καὶ τύψας αὐτὸν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐδαμοῦ ῥῆσις, οὐδαμοῦ πνοή, οὐδαμοῦ ἢ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων δαιμόνων ἀλαζονεία, ἀλλὰ μόνα καὶ κενὰ τὰ θυσιαστήρια τοῦ ἀναισθήτου Φάλκονος.—Copying books for missionary purposes and reading on great feasts, *ibid.*, pp. 275, 13–276, 2: ὁ δὲ μακάριος πρὸς με [sc. Evagrius, the purported author of the *Life*], “λάβε [sic?], τέκνον, σὺν Ξανθίπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἐπαφροδίτῳ, καὶ γράψατε αὐτοῖς τῶν μυστηρίων τοὺς τόμους καὶ τὰς διαφόρους τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐορτῶν ἀναγνώσεις καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἅπερ ἀναγινώσκωμεν τὰς ἐορτὰς τὰς μεγάλας.”—Model books for pictures to be put on walls of churches, *ibid.*, pp. 12, 11–13, 2: Πέτρος πεποίηκεν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἅπασαν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διεκόσμου, ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ὅτε ἄγγελος τὸ “χαῖρε” κέκραγεν τῇ παρθένῳ, μέχρις ὅτου καὶ ἀνελήφθη ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. . . . αὐτοὶ ἐνετύπον αὐτὰς ἐν πίναξιν χαρτῶφιν καὶ παρεδιδώσαν [sic] τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἐνετύπον αὐτάς. Cf. pp. 86, 14–88, 14: “τέκνον Εὐάγριε, ἐνεγκέ μοι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς μεμβράνας τὰς ἐν ἱστορίᾳ οὖσας καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας,” ὡς καὶ ἔστησεν ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν, ὅτε τὸ παννύχιον ἐπετελοῦμεν, καὶ ποιήσας τὸ πρέπον σέβας, ἐξηγήρηθ, καὶ ἀναπτύξας τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον [τὸ] ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, λέγει πρὸς με, “τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀνάγνωθι, τέκνον.” ὁ δὲ μακάριος κατέσχε τὰ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐγκείμενα. ὡς οὖν ἠρξάμην ἐγὼ ἀναγνῶναι, αὐτὸς ἐρμήνευεν καὶ ὑπεδείκνυν αὐτοῖς ἅπασαν εἰκόνα τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ οἰκονομίας τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, ὥστε παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Πέτρος. ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἅπαντα κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου ὑπέδειξε, ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν ἄγγελον τῇ παρθένῳ προσελθεῖν καὶ ἀφ’ οὗ ἐτέχθη, καὶ πῶς ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ πῶς ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ καὶ ἕκαστα σὺν τῶν θαυμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. ταῦτα μὲν πάντα, ὡς προεῖρηται, ὑπεδείκνυν αὐτοῖς εἰς πλείονα φωτισμόν· τὸν εὐαγγελισμόν, τὴν γένναν, τοὺς μάγους, τὴν ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ Ἡρώδου, τοὺς ποιμένας, τὴν φάτην, τὸ σπῆλαιον, τοὺς ἀναιρεθέντας παῖδας, τὸν Πρόδρομον, τὸν Ἰορδάνην, τὸν κύριον κατελθόντα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐρχόμενον ἐπ’ αὐτόν, τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτων, τοὺς ἀποστόλους, τὰς ἰάσεις, τὰς παραβολὰς δὲ πάσας διερμηνεύων, ἐσαφηνίζεν πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ μικρὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα ἐγκείμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα μεγάλα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν ἢ χαμηρπές. τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πίναξιν ὑπέδειξε, τὰς δὲ παραβολὰς διερμηνέυσεν αὐτοῖς λέγων ὅτι περ. “τεκνία μου ἀγαπητὰ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθείς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου εἰργάσατο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀφθεις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφεῖς.” ἦλθεν οὖν ὁ μακάριος καὶ ὑπέδειξε αὐτοῖς τὸ πάθος, τὸν σταυρόν, τὴν ταφήν, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἕως ὅτου ἀνελήφθη εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, καὶ πληρώσας πάντα, ἐκαθέσθη, κελεύσας καὶ Βονιφατίῳ σὺν Λυκαονίδῃ καθεσθῆναι· ἵστατο γὰρ ἕως ὅτου πάντα ὑπέδειξε αὐτοῖς. λέγει οὖν πρὸς με ὁ μακάριος, “τέκνον, πτύξας ἀποθοῦ εἰς τὴν θήκην αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον.” Cf. pp. 38, 14–39, 6: καὶ λαβὼν ὁ μακάριος τοὺς πίνακας, οὓς ἦν ἱστορήσας ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ἀναπτύξας ὑπέδειξε

of Pankratios also contains a catechetical sermon in which St. Peter relates the story of the Old Testament; endless as it is, it covers only the period from Adam to Abraham.⁴⁵ The *Life* of St. Andrew puts the same kind of sermon in the first-called apostle's mouth; mercifully, Andrew's sermon is much shorter.⁴⁶ Sermons on the Old Testament strike us as a complicated and boring way to introduce ignorant pagans into the new religion, but this method must have been used in actual practice: we find a similar exposition at the beginning of the historical *Life* of the Slavic apostle Methodius into which it must have been inserted from some text used for missionary purposes. And in a short while we shall find the same practice again, when we discuss the relevant passages of the Primary Chronicle.

A parallel case of providing the new flock with overly complicated didactic material is offered by the stories of the ecumenical councils that we read, among other texts, in Patriarch Photius's letter to the newly baptized tsar Boris-Michael.⁴⁷ The doctrinary intricacies of these stories strike us as ill-suited to the addressee. One way to explain the presence of the reports on the councils in Photius's letter to Boris would be to assume a respectable degree of religious sophistication on the part of the Bulgarian tsar or his entourage. Still, the presence of the reports on the ecumenical councils at the beginning of the *Life* of Methodius indicates that they must have been part of the missionary practice.

Dividing Byzantine mission reports into historical and imaginary has its virtues for the student of the baptism of Rus'. It enables him to set up a third, intermediary category: that of hybrid mission reports. These refer to actual events, but present them in a miraculous setting. Using this classification, we are able to find a niche for the longest Byzantine report on the conversion of the Rus': the ninety-seventh chapter of the *Vita Basilii*, the biography of Emperor Basil I (867–886), a mid-tenth-century text that

αὐτοῖς λέγων, “θεῖναι μὲν πρῶτον τὸν εὐαγγελισμόν, τὴν γέννησιν, τὸ πῶς ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Προδρόμου, τοὺς μαθητάς, τὰς ἰάσεις, τὴν προδοσίαν, τὴν σταύρωσιν, τὴν ταφήν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀίδου ἔγερσιν, τὴν ἀνάληψιν· ταῦτα πάντα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διακοσμεῖτε, ἵνα ὁρῶντα τὰ πλήθη τῶν εἰσιόντων, ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ κυρίου λαμβάνοντες, ἀναζωπυροῦνται.

⁴⁵ Stallman, *Pankratios*, I, pp. 28, 12–34, 3.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. Dressel, ed., *Epiphani monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita* (Paris and Leipzig, 1843), pp. 60–63.

⁴⁷ The letter—more appropriately, a *liber hortatorius*—dates from 865. The latest edition is by B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I (1983), 1–39 (=Ep. 1). Of the letter's 1208 lines, 559 are devoted to the councils. For an English translation, cf. Despina Stratoudaki White and Joseph R. Berrigan, Jr., *The Patriarch and the Prince* (Brookline, Mass., 1982). The Old Testament was a source for sermons preached by western missionaries as well. There, however, it played a less prominent role. Cf. Sullivan, “The Carolingian Missionary” (fn. 29 above), pp. 715–20.

deals with the “first” conversion that occurred in the 860s. That chapter displays several *topoi* by now familiar to us from historical missionary reports: lavish gifts offered to the barbarians; a link between a peace treaty and baptism; the ruler and his elite examining the new faith; use of the Old Testament in preaching—but it also contains a miracle. This precious text is analyzed for its historical information and misinformation in every treatment of Christian beginnings in Rus’ and will be discussed by Vittorio Peri; for our purposes here, it will be enough merely to adduce it in translation.⁴⁸

The emperor also conciliated the indomitable and utterly godless nation of the Rhos with the lure of generous gifts of gold, silver, and of silk garments: he concluded a treaty of peace with them, persuaded them to partake of the salutary baptism, and made them accept an (arch?)bishop who had received his ordination from Patriarch Ignatios. Having arrived in the country of the said nation, the archbishop gained their acceptance by the following deed. The ruler of that tribe convened an assembly of his subjects and presided over it, together with the elders of his entourage; the latter clung to their superstitions even more tenaciously than the rest, because they had so long been accustomed to them. In discussing their religion and that of the Christians, they called in the prelate who had recently arrived among them and inquired what his message was and what instruction they were about to receive. The prelate held out the Holy Book of the Divine Gospel and recited to them some of the miracles performed by our Savior and God; he also revealed to them some of the marvels wrought by God in the Old Testament. Forthwith the Rhos said, “unless we are shown some similar thing, especially something like that which, as you say, <happened to> the three young men in the furnace, we shall not in the least believe you, nor shall we again lend our ears to what you tell us.” The prelate put his trust in the truth of Him Who said, “Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name ye shall receive,” and, “He that believeth in me, the works that I do he shall do also, and greater works than these shall he do” (provided that whatever is done, is done for the salvation of souls, not for the sake of display), and said to them: “Though one ought not to tempt the Lord God, yet if you have resolved from the bottom of your hearts to join God, then you may ask Him whatsoever you wish, and God surely will accede to it because you have faith, even if I myself be lowly and the least of men.” They asked that the very book of the Christian faith, that is, the Divine and Holy Gospel, be thrown into a fire built by them; should it be preserved without damage

⁴⁸ This translation is a part of my forthcoming new critical edition of *Vita Basilii* (=Theophanes Continuatus, bk. 5). *Loci paralleli* to *Vita Basilii*’s 97th chapter are: Photius’s *Letter* 2, 293–305 (to the Oriental Sees) = I, 50 ed. Laourdas–Westerink, *Photii*. . . (as in fn. 47); Theophanes Continuatus, 4, 33 = 196, 12–15, Bonn; and the texts quoted in fn. 13 above.—For recent discussions of our chapter as history, cf. L. Müller, *Die Taufe Russlands* (Munich, 1987), pp. 62–64; V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe* (Paris, 1988), pp. 30–34. For a curious way in which Photius, Prince Volodimer the Great, and Bishop Leontij of Rostov met in Rostovian hagiography of ca. 1200, cf. F. B. Poljakov, “Die Auffassung der byzantinischen Mission in der lokalen hagiographischen Überlieferung über den Heiligen Leontij von Rostov,” ed. K. Chr. Felmy et al., *Tausend Jahre Christentum in Russland* (Göttingen, 1988), pp. 445–59.

and remain unconsumed, they would join the God of whom he preached. These words having been uttered, and after the priest lifted his eyes and his hands to God and said, "Jesus Christ our God, this time as well glorify Thy holy name in the presence of all that nation," the Book of the Holy Gospels was thrown into the fiery furnace. Several hours passed, the furnace was put out, and it was found that the holy volume remained unscathed, unharmed, and having suffered no injury or shrinkage from the fire—even the tassels at the book's clasps suffered no corruption or outward change. When the barbarians beheld this, they were astounded by the greatness of the miracle, and abandoning all doubts, began to be baptized.

VI

Byzantine missionary reports, whether historical, hybrid, or imaginary, come in handy when one is rereading the Primary Chronicle.⁴⁹ I shall cull my six illustrations from the pages that cover the reigns of Ol'ga, Svjatoslav, and Volodimer.

1. The Byzantine emperor reproached Ol'ga for not fulfilling her promise to send "warriors to him for help."⁵⁰ The emperor was not as feeble-minded as the Chronicle makes him out to be: he simply claimed his due from the newly converted barbarian ruler—we remember that in the system of the Primary Chronicle Ol'ga had just been baptized in Constantinople and the emperor had acted as her godfather. The emperor's reproach was not a literary device, but part and parcel of contemporary diplomacy. Some twenty-five years before Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople, the Byzantine patriarch Nicholas Mystikos, aware of the Bulgarian menace of the 920s, reminded the recently baptized ruler of the Caucasian Abasgians of his duty to support the empire militarily, should he be called upon to do so.⁵¹

2. The interminable retelling of the Old Testament put at the beginning of the speech that the Philosopher held before Volodimer⁵² no longer disturbs us, for by now we know that both the imaginary and the hybrid mission reports referred to the same pedagogical device.

3. We will not wonder at the "curtain," that is, a piece of cloth that the Philosopher produced in front of Volodimer as a visual aid of sorts,⁵³ for we remember the model books with scenes from the Life of Christ that were distributed to missionaries in the *Life* of Pankratios.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ The Primary Chronicle (hereafter *PVL*) will be quoted after the text prepared by D. S. Lixačev, *Povest' vremennyx let*, I (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950).

⁵⁰ *PVL*, 45.

⁵¹ Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 162, 13–19 (fn. 8 above), p. 486; date of the letter: 924–925.

⁵² *PVL*, 61–71.

⁵³ *PVL*, 74.

⁵⁴ Cf. p. 21 and fn. 44 above.

4. Nor will we wonder why the Philosopher's curtain should have contained a picture of the Last Judgment. We read in a tenth-century Byzantine source that the Last Judgment was presented for the same purpose one hundred years earlier in Bulgaria—true, not on a curtain but on a wall of Boris-Michael's hunting lodge—that the effect was immediate and that it turned Boris-Michael, a barbarian, into a Christian.⁵⁵

5. When the emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII appealed to the one faith that would now unite Volodimer with the Byzantines, they referred to the motif of brotherhood and solidarity used in imperial propaganda for centuries, including the early tenth century when it was invoked during wars with Symeon of Bulgaria.⁵⁶

6. In a much-quoted short passage the Chronicle tells us how Volodimer selected children of prominent people to submit them to "book-learning"—whatever this meant—and how the bereft mothers of those children broke out in lament.⁵⁷ There may have been reality behind the mothers' lamentations, but the Chronicle's passage is on a summary side; even so, scholars, from the eighteenth century to the twentieth, spent some effort to squeeze the elixir of Cyrillo-Methodian heritage out of it.⁵⁸ This story has a Syriac parallel that I prefer for the fullness of its detail and for the light it casts on the meaning of the Primary Chronicle's term *učenie knižnoe*.

⁵⁵ Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, 4, 15 = 163, 19–164, 17, Bonn. The connection between the passages in *PVL* and Theophanes Continuatus was made before. Cf., e.g., Dujčev, "Légendes," (fn. 27 above), esp. p. 66, fn. 2.

⁵⁶ *PVL*, 76. As parallels, cf. the text republished by R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Peace with Bulgaria (927) Celebrated by Theodore Daphnopates," in *Polychronion. Festschrift F. Dölger* (Heidelberg, 1966), pp. 287–303, esp. p. 289 (μηκέτι Σκύθης καὶ βάρβαρος . . . Χριστιανοὶ δὲ πάντες) and p. 293 (οἱ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνικώτατοι). Cf. also the view of Bulgarians and Byzantines put in the mouth of Boris-Michael by Theophanes Continuatus 4, 15 = 164, 24, Bonn (ὡς ἤδη ἐν ἄλλ' οὐ δύο ὄντων αὐτῶν). Cf. also Nicholas Mystikos, *Letter* 8, 14–24 (fn. 8 above), p. 46; *Letter* 9, 19–25, 192–96, pp. 54, 64 (on Christianity's having created a bond between Symeon's Bulgarians and the Byzantines: they are ἐν σώμα in faith). Cf. also the texts I adduced in *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 226, fn. 22. For a western parallel from the ninth century (hope for a bond between the Franks of Louis the Pious and the Danes), cf. Rimbart, *Vita Anskarii*, quoted in Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary" (as in fn. 29 above), p. 724, fn. 113.

⁵⁷ *PVL*, 81.

⁵⁸ In 1791, F. V. Karžavin wrote in his *Précis historique sur l'introduction des lettres en Russie* (St. Petersburg): "Car ce ne fut que dans l'intention d'éclairer son peuple qu'il [sc. Volodimer] fonda des Ecoles dans lesquelles il fit entrer de force les enfants [sic?] des gens de distinction pour y apprendre à lire et à écrire. On voit par là que l'Eglise Russe a fait usage dès son origine, pour le service Divin, des livres traduits du Grec en Slavon par le Philosof [sic] Kirile autrement l'Evêque Konstantine." Reprinted by S. Dolgova, "Neizvestnoe russkoe soobščenie XVIII v. o Kirille i Mefodii. . .," *Kirilo-Methodievski Studii* 5 (1988): 191. For a modern statement, cf. D. Obolensky, "The Cyrillo-Methodian Heritage in Russia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), esp. pp. 58–59.

Symeon the Mountaineer, a free-lance missionary active in a semi-pagan region along the Euphrates, tonsured eighteen boys and twelve girls—not a bad male to female ratio for any American college; for this, Symeon had to withstand lamentations, rage, and curses of the children’s mothers. He provided the boys and girls thus selected with writing tablets and taught them for some five years, until they were about to reach puberty and had to be separated. In the meantime, they had learned the Psalter and the Scriptures, which was their *učenie knižnoe*.⁵⁹

VII

The purpose of our Ravenna gathering is not to learn, for instance, that Leo I, a fifth-century Byzantine emperor, had the Arab chieftain Amorkesos seated high up at the imperial table so as to entice him to become a Christian;⁶⁰ to measure how deeply felt were the new bonds of solidarity between two recent royal converts in sixth-century Nubia; to be informed of the methods that Symeon the Mountaineer used to teach semi-pagan children on the west bank of the Euphrates; or, finally, to learn how the children’s mothers reacted to Symeon’s methods.

Still, it is good to put things into their context. In this lecture I have been suggesting all along, without saying it in so many words, that the baptism of Rus’ was a local variant—granted, a complicated one—of a general pattern that could be traced across half a millennium. Attention to the pattern may help us better to understand both the variant itself and the local sources reporting on it; thus, Amorkesos’s advantageous seating at Leo I’s banquet should make us recall Ol’ga’s high position at the imperial table during her visit in Constantinople five hundred years later.⁶¹

In the present lecture the Byzantine pattern occupied the center stage. In the days that shall follow, the opposite will happen: we will devote our attention to the peculiar, and perhaps unique, characteristics of the Rus’ variant.

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⁵⁹ On Symeon the Mountaineer as teacher of children who hitherto had “no time to leave the goats and learn anything,” cf. John of Ephesus, *Lives* (fn. 15 above), I, *PO*, 17 (1923): 241–46. For western eighth- and ninth-century parallels, especially to having children of the (newly converted?) nobles instructed in the faith, cf. Sullivan, “The Carolingian Missionary,” (fn. 29 above), p. 713, esp. fn. 50.

⁶⁰ Cf. p. 16 and fn. 22 above.

⁶¹ The story of Amorkesos was known in the learned milieu of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Princess Ol’ga’s host, for it has been transmitted in the *Excerpts* from reports about foreign embassies to Byzantium, a collection made under Constantine’s auspices. For the source, cf. de Boor in fn. 22 above.

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The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800

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One of the *leitmotifs* in Alexander Kazhdan's multifaceted *oeuvre* is a message that by now most of us have made our own: during the lifespan of Byzantine civilization, significant changes were occurring behind an apparently uniform facade. There existed, as it were, several Byzantine civilizations at different times. In the offering which, after some years of rumination, I am presenting to the master of our studies and an old friend, I wish to provide a *pendant* to his message: my story will be straightforward, but it also will remind us that at any given time there coexisted, as it were, several manifestations of the same Byzantine civilization.

I

If one were to ask the average Byzantinist to name the monuments of Byzantine art that can be dated to around 800, give or take a quarter of a century, the answer would probably be parts of St. Irene in Constantinople and St. Sophia in Thessalonica; a stage in the mosaic decoration of the Dormition Church of Nicaea (assuming that he had seen photographs taken before 1922); the remains of Theophanes the Confessor's church at his monastery of Megas Agros; the ivory (probably a scepter) with the likeness of one of the emperors Leo—which one would depend on which recent article he might have read;¹ and the miniatures of the Vatican Ptolemy (Vat. gr. 1291), redated to the 830s a dozen years ago, but in my opinion more

than fifty years earlier in date.² Even if he were versed in art history, our average Byzantinist would not be able to quote many more monuments that clearly belong to those years.

If, on the other hand, we were to ask the average Byzantine art historian to name Byzantine historical writings of the same period, he would be able to come up with a longer list of fairly well-dated items: the Chronicle going under the name of Theophanes, the two historical treatises and the various defenses of images by Patriarch Nikephoros, perhaps the Chronicle of Synkellos, and the *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio* with another related fragment on the Byzantine debacle of 811, and, for professional reasons, the curious treatise on Constantinople's monumental past, the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, provided he had not accepted the recent proposal to date this treatise to the early eighth century. With the help of reference works he could add more examples. The disparity in the length of these two lists is rooted in the nature of the evidence and not in the respective levels of erudition possessed by the two specialists. Our evidence for history that was written about 800 is simply more plentiful than our evi-

¹Cf., on the one hand, K. Weitzmann, "Ivory Sculpture of the Macedonian Renaissance," in *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur*, ed. V. Milojević (Mainz, 1970), II (1971), 10–11, repr. in Weitzmann's *Classical Heritage in Byzantine and Near Eastern Art* (London, 1981), nr. IX, 10–11 and annotation to p. 10 note 61 (Leo V); and, on the other, K. Corrigan, "The Ivory Scepter of Leo VI: A Statement of Post-Iconoclastic Imperial Ideology," *ArtB* 60 (1978), 407–416; A. Schminck, "Rota tu volubilis," in *Cupido Legum*, ed. L. Burgmann et al., *Festschrift Simon* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), esp.

231 and note 139 (Schminck is too hard on Weitzmann); C. Jolivet-Levy, (a) "L'image du pouvoir dans l'art byzantin à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne (867–1056)," *Byzantion* 57 (1987), 446–47 and (b) the Russian version of the article in *VizVrem* 49 (1988), 146 and note 20 (all three authors favor Leo VI). Without insisting, I am inclined to attribute the "Leo" ivory to Leo V, because the lettering of its long inscription seems to be earlier than the end of the 9th century.

²For the dating to the 830s, cf. I. Spatharakis, "Some Observations on the Ptolemy Ms. Vat. gr. 1291: Its Date and the Two Initial Miniatures," *BZ* 71 (1978), 41–49. My proposal for an earlier dating was based on the observation that a change in script occurred in the list of emperors on fol. 17r, after the name of Constantine (V). This would point to the years 741–775 as the date of the Vat. gr. 1291. This proposal was developed by D. H. Wright, "The Date of the Vatican Illuminated Handy Tables of Ptolemy and of its Early Additions," *BZ* 78 (1985), 355–62, cf. esp. pp. 355–56.

dence for art that was produced at the same time. This observation alone entitles us to ask whether interest in history increased around 800.

II

We modern historians of Byzantium are predominantly interested in works or parts of works whose authors deal with events contemporary with or close to the time in which they are writing. To remain within our period, Theophanes, for example, as we know with a fair degree of certainty, wrote or inserted material from elsewhere into the final pages of his Chronicle between 813 and late 814, so we are most interested in what he has to tell us about the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries. It is more difficult to say when Patriarch Nikephoros wrote. I feel, without being able to prove it, that he was rewriting and stylistically improving his main historical work, the *Breviarium*, late in life. Far better judges than I, however, believe that Nikephoros wrote the first version of the *Breviarium* early in his career; it follows that he could have rewritten it early as well. In any case, he certainly wrote before 829; so again, we appreciate him for what he has to say about the seventh and eighth centuries. The *Scriptor Incertus* wrote after 820, I think not too long after that date,³ and his closeness to the events that he so vividly describes makes him a particularly treasured source.

³One of those far better judges is C. Mango, *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History* (Washington, D.C., 1990), esp. 12, 27, 29: the *Breviarium* is an *oeuvre de jeunesse* of ca. 780, and its reworking, by Nikephoros himself or a learned editor, occurred at an indeterminate date. Speck, "Das geteilte Dossier" (as in note 47 below), 514–15 dates the first version of the *Breviarium* to the late 80s or early 90s, and the end of the work at stylistic improvements to 792 rather than 797. He gives no reasons.—Date of the *Scriptor Incertus*: cf., on the one hand, *Scriptor Incertus*, 346, 9–10 and 355, 1–2, Bonn ed. = 55, 159–63 and 64, 404–6, ed. Iadevaia, on whom cf. note 28 below (Leo V wished to live or rule for many years, as many as Leo III did. This implies that reality turned out to be different and that the author wrote after 820); cf., on the other, 350, 21–351, 10, Bonn ed. = 60, 289–61, 303, ed. Iadevaia (no awareness that Anthony was to become patriarch, which happened in ca. 821). I am not adducing ἐπισκόπους καὶ μοναχὸς ἀνεκαλέσασθαι of 362, 20–21, Bonn ed. = 72, 608–9, ed. Iadevaia here, for it is not at all sure that these last four words of our preserved text refer to Michael II and thus to a date after 820. On the latter point, cf. e.g., R. Browning in *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 405. C. Mango, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), 400 and note 21 cautiously dates the *Scriptor* before 850 and offers valid reasons for rejecting a date "after 864," originally suggested by Lidia Tomić in *ZRVI* 1 (1952), 81. W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 378 does not make it clear according to whose "plausible conjecture" the full text of *Scriptor Incertus* was used for (i.e., must have encompassed) events between 753

Writers and readers of history around 800 had, like their predecessors of the fourth to seventh centuries, a different perspective. Byzantine historians were Christians; they believed in a big plan of history. To defend and expound this plan, they relied on a body of doctrinal writing and on commentaries on that body provided by the church fathers. They owed both their strength and their difficulties to this belief and to this reliance. Their strength—not unlike the strength of some ideologues of yesterday—came from knowing revealed truths and from being able to think of, and attempt to draw, a vast historical panorama that extended from the Creation through the Incarnation to the Day Without End. On the other hand, their difficulties, which we perceive more clearly than they did, came from two sources: from having to relate the flow of historical events to some immutable point, such as the Creation or the date of Christ's Passion, and from having to write history according to a set of data contained in the Old and New Testaments.

One of the tasks of the historian, especially a universal historian, is to establish his and his readers' position in time and space by referring to fixed points. Today, when our Christian Europocentricity has imposed the Christian era upon much of the globe, this task is perceived as trivial; today we also realize that it is applied to an insignificant segment in the life of mankind and an infinitesimal fraction—only the last seven thousand years or so—of the earth's existence; but around the year 800 the task presented much greater technical difficulties and was felt to be of primary importance to perform. The fixed points were to be provided by the Bible, and since humanity was held to be almost exactly as old as the world itself, the starting point of all history was to be the Creation.

The task of constructing an extensive and all-embracing chronological framework that would organize all the fixed points provided by the Bible was undertaken for the second and last time in the history of the Byzantine East around the year 808. It was accomplished by George Synkellos who

and 825. Treadgold's own conjecture (pp. 378 and 388) attributes the authorship of the *Scriptor Incertus* to Sergios Confessor. Much is possible in the game of attributions, but this one assumes an embarrassingly low level of literary sophistication for the putative father of Patriarch Photios; and the stylistic judgment in codex 67 of Photios' *Bibliotheca*—our only source for Sergios—does not bear out such an assumption. Whoever the author of the *Scriptor Incertus* may have been, according to codex 67 Sergios wrote in or soon after 828.

wrote his Chronicle, or at least parts of it, in Constantinople. His death occurred in or shortly before 813, and he seems to have been working on the draft of his "Selected Chronography" as late as 810 or even later.⁴ Aside from the monumental work of Eusebius of Caesarea—who is only barely a Byzantine author—Synkellos' chronological undertaking was on a scale and of a precision never attempted in the history of Byzantine scholarship. To be sure, Synkellos reverentially quotes Pano-doros and Annianos, his learned Alexandrian predecessors who wrote about the year 400, but we know nothing about their work outside of his own text. Of the other counterexamples that come to mind, the Paschal Chronicle lacks Synkellos' universal scope, and neither the shadowy Universal History of Hesychios of Miletus (that went down to the year 518) nor the even more shadowy and low-brow Chronicle of Hippolytus of Thebes (seventh–eighth centuries?)⁵ can compare—as far as evidence allows us to judge it—with Synkellos' effort. I know of no better thumbnail sketch of Synkellos' achievement than that given by Theophanes in the preface to the chronicle that bears his name. Theophanes writes:

Father George of blessed memory who at one time was synkellos of Tarasios, the great patriarch of Constantinople, was a man of repute and exceedingly great learning. He read many chroniclers and historians and investigated them thoroughly. Thereupon he composed in a precise manner a short chronicle from Adam until Diocletian, emperor of the Romans and persecutor of the Christians. After painstaking research he established dates, reconciled discrepancies among them and corrected them and put them all together as no one had done before him. He wrote up the reigns of all nations and their dates. He also recorded, to the extent of his capabilities, the arch-priests of the great ecumenical sees—I have in mind Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem—in precise order, including those shepherds of the church who led their flocks in an orthodox manner as well as those who ruled in heresy like unto robbers.⁶

⁴Cf. Synkellos, *Chron.*, 4, 11, Bonn ed. = 4, 29, ed. Mosshammer ("802 years" elapsed from Christ's birth) and 389, 19–20, Bonn ed. = 244, 31, ed. Mosshammer ("the present year 6302.") For Synkellos, as for his predecessors Sextus Julius Africanus and Annianos, the year of Creation was 5500 before Christ's birth. For the hypothesis that Synkellos may have been writing as late as 813, cf. Mango, "Who Wrote . . ." (as in note 20 below), 14.

⁵On Pano-doros, cf. O. Seel in *RE* 18 (1949), 632–35. On Hippolytus of Thebes, cf. Fr. Diekamp, *Hippolytos von Theben, Texte und Untersuchungen* (Münster i. W., 1898), esp. pp. 1–55, 157 and 159–62; cf. also Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople* (as in note 30 below), esp. p. 41.

⁶Theophanes, *Chron.* 3, 9–23, ed. de Boor.

It was hardly correct of Theophanes to describe Synkellos' work as a "short chronicle." It is among the major endeavors of Byzantine historiography, amounting as it does in the latest edition to close to five hundred pages of the Teubner text; but Theophanes was perfectly right when he said that Synkellos had read many chroniclers and historians. Synkellos is not only one of our sources for reconstructing the Chronicle of Eusebius, on whom he depends, for the writings of Sextus Julius Africanus, Eusebius' famous predecessor of the third century, as well as for the fragments of several Hellenistic writers, but is also the valuable parallel source for the Book of Enoch and the chief repository for the fragments of the Greek version of the Jewish apocryphal Old Testament book of the Jubilees, which he called the "small"—or perhaps "detailed"—"Genesis" (λεπτὴ Γένεσις). In the latest editions of these Greek fragments quotations from Synkellos are given the lion's share. Moreover, Synkellos mentions and discusses at some length what he calls the Handy Tables of Ptolemy, probably a text close to or identical with the one contained in the Vatican manuscript that I would like to date to the second half of the eighth century.⁷

Theophanes was also on the right track when he spoke of Synkellos' painstaking research. When it came to deciding on details *within* the theoretical framework that he had established, Synkellos behaved like a modern scholar. He weighed the testimony of sources against each other and compared texts. True, it is often difficult to distinguish between what comes from him and what comes from his sources when the latter are no longer at our disposal. With the passage I am about to adduce we seem to be on safe ground, however, because it is prefaced by the sentence, "According to the present chronicle." The passage runs as follows:

Noah being five hundred years of age gave birth to Sem. Year of the world 2142. One hundred years later, when Noah was six hundred years old, the flood

⁷Cf. *Apocalypsis Henochi graece*, ed. M. Black, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca*, ed. A.-M. Denis, *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece*, 3 (Leiden, 1970), 10; 21–26; 29–30; 37; 70–100. Cf. also *The Book of Jubilees, a Critical Text*, ed. and transl. (from the Ethiopian) J. C. Vanderkam, CSCO 510, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, 87 (Louvain, 1989), xi–xii; 258–61 (takes over Denis with some additions). In general, cf. A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudepigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden, 1970), 150, 152–53, 160. For the term λεπτὴ Γένεσις, that already occurs in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, cf. Synkellos, *Chron.*, 5, 16; 7, 11; 13, 16; 14, 5, Bonn ed. = 3, 16–17; 4, 21; 7, 28; 8, 2, ed. Mosshammer. For the Handy Tables of "Ptol-

occurred [this is one of the pivotal points in the scheme of history]. Thus from Adam until the flood there were 2242 years. This is what is contained in Eusebius [Synkellos' usual guide] and is the truth; and it is so in most of the copies of the Pentateuch according to the edition of the Seventy. As for Africanus [the other scholar with whom Synkellos dealt], he computed 2262 years, basing himself on a few copies which contain this information, but which are not trustworthy. Now for the first time span down to the flood, there is a difference of 349 years . . . between the Hebrew copies and the very old Samaritan copy written in different characters, which the Hebrews agree is both trustworthy and earlier. The difference between the edition of the Seventy and the Hebrew text is 586 years; and that between the Seventy and the Samaritan text, 935 years [Synkellos added 349 to 586]. Africanus differs from Eusebius by 20 years for the length of the period between Adam and the flood.⁸

The last sentence must come from Synkellos, because Synkellos upbraids Africanus for this "error" in numerous passages of his book. Nothing about Synkellos' knowledge of foreign languages should be inferred from the passage just quoted, but the conclusion is warranted that Synkellos was aware of scholarly disputes held in Palestine or at least about texts known in Palestine. There will be a word about this later (p. 289 and note 29).

Synkellos both believed in the regularity of the historical process and found the laws of this process expounded in the Scriptures. From this came his (and his predecessors') need for establishing chronological symmetries. Thus the world was created on 25 March, the Flood ended on 25 March, our Lord was conceived on 25 March and was crucified on Friday 25 March (25 March being the date of Passover in Synkellos' year of crucifixion). Finally, the first day of the year was 25 March. From this also came Synkellos' need to reject any data found in secular sources that clashed with "the theory." Thus Berossos and Manetho, Hellenistic writers who dealt with Babylonia and Egypt

respectively, quite reasonably assumed that Babylonia and Egypt had been inhabited for more than a hundred thousand years. This, however, could not be true, given the fact that the whole world—Egypt, Babylonia, and all—was created 5,500 years before the birth of Christ. Therefore Synkellos proceeded to prove that both Egypt and Babylonia were uninhabited until the flood and that they were peopled only after that cataclysmic event. In such a way Berossos' and Manetho's one hundred thousand years of Babylonian and Egyptian history were eliminated. Moreover, in the wake of Jewish and early Christian apologists Synkellos also had to defend the originality of Jewish teachings and their temporal priority to those of the pagans. Therefore he asserted that Berossos had stolen some elements of the story of the Creation from Moses, and dated Moses (with Eusebius' help) earlier than such important figures of Greek mythical history as Prometheus, Europa, Perseus, and Hercules, and certainly Homer and Hesiod. As a matter of fact, even if Moses was not 850 years older than the Trojan wars, he preceded them by 350 years.⁹ Whatever the much-researched sources of this chronology may have been, Synkellos made it his own and relied on this construction in defending the story of the Scriptures against what non-Christians offered as a different set of facts.

For all his scholarship, Synkellos was not much read until quite recently. If a Byzantinist of our time could conduct an interview with him, Synkellos would no doubt have expressed resentment at this neglect, and complained, *exempli gratia*, as follows: "I was somebody in my time. I was no less a scholar than you people are. I reconciled Eusebius and Africanus. I have gathered a great deal of material. Within about half a century of my death, I was translated in excerpts into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, a man who nearly became a pope. What is more, I was rediscovered by the two brightest classical stars of the star-studded sixteenth century: Joseph Justus Scaliger obtained, after much effort, a Paris manuscript of my work, and used it—too extensively, I must admit, and without showing me due respect—in his epoch-

emy," cf. *ibid.*, 97, 2–10 = 57, 17–24 ed. Mosshammer.—Calling Synkellos' work a "short chronicle" (σύντομον χρονογραφία) may have been Theophanes' unfelicitous attempt at paraphrasing that work's title, "Select Chronography" (Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας).

⁸Synkellos, *Chron.*, 156, 8–20, Bonn ed. = 94, 2–13, ed. Mosshammer. Cf. also 152, 1, Bonn ed. = 91, 12, ed. Mosshammer and 382, 7–14, Bonn ed. = 240, 12–18, ed. Mosshammer, where our author refers to a manuscript he obtained from the library at Caesarea of Cappadocia, a manuscript that derived from a copy corrected by Basil the Great himself. In general, we now tend to attribute more originality and independence of judgment to Synkellos than earlier scholars did. Cf. Laqueur (as in note 11 below), col. 1407.

⁹Chronological symmetries: Synkellos, *Chron.*, 1, 5–2, 1; 2, 4–18; 41, 15–19; Berossos' and Manetho's falsehoods and plagiarism: 25, 2–26, 2; 27, 12–29, 5; 30, 4–11; 42, 4–6; 56, 15–57, 14; 67, 17–68, 14; Moses' chronology: 120, 15–124, 8, Bonn ed. = 1, 11–13; 1, 16–28; 23, 26–28; 14, 22–15, 6; 16, 2–31; 17, 14–19; 23, 33–35; 32, 14–31; 38, 12–29; 72, 15–74, 20, ed. Mosshammer. *Ad rem*, cf. also Adler, *Time Immemorial* (as in note 11 below), 138–45.

making *Thesaurus Temporum* to reconstruct the first book of Eusebius' lost *Chronicle*, and Isaac Casaubon took notes on what I had to say on Babylonian history. Even today I am represented by a dozen Greek manuscripts, not counting the excerpts, by at least three manuscripts of the Latin translation, and by one manuscript of a Slavic translation of a version of my work, by three copies of that manuscript, and by two excerpts from it.¹⁰ Why is it that Malalas, whose culture, let alone scholarship, I do not wish to discuss because I am a saintly man, and who in essence is represented by a single Greek manuscript containing a summary of his work and one partly preserved garbled Slavic translation—why is it that Malalas is the subject of so much attention by you modern Byzantinists, while I would have been condemned to a full century of oblivion had it not been for one exception in 1932 and the last-minute efforts, all falling within the last decade, of three of your contemporaries: one, a scholar of wide-ranging interests, devoted an article to me in 1981—unfortunately, it appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Irish Academy, a periodical which is not available in heaven; the second republished me in 1984, I suspect more for the sake of my sources than my own; and finally, in 1985 or earlier, the third delved into what I had to say about the period preceding the flood, again, I fear, to stress my dependence on my predecessors rather than to praise my own scholarship.”¹¹

¹⁰For the Greek manuscript tradition, cf. now Mosshammer, *Georgius Syncellus, Ecloga* (as in note 11 below), viii–xxi; for Anastasius Bibliothecarius and his partial translation, cf. *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, II (Leipzig, 1885), 32 and 60–77, and C. Leonardi, “Anastasio Bibliotecario e le traduzioni dal greco nella Roma altomedievale,” in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. W. Herren (London, 1988) 277–96; for Joseph J. Scaliger's use of the Parisinus graecus 1711 of Synkellos in reconstructing Eusebius' *Chronicle*, cf., e.g., the *Nachwort* to the reprint (Osnabrück, 1968) of Scaliger's *Thesaurus temporum* (Leiden, 1606), III and R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976), 113 and 118; Mosshammer, *Georgius* (as in note 11 below), v; and A. Grafton, *Forgers and Critics, Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, 1990), 100–101. Leo Allatius, *De Georgiis . . . diatriba*, no. 23, in J. A. Fabricius-G. C. Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca* 12 (1809), 24–30, esp. 25, remarked that sometimes Scaliger showed *meram animi contentionem* towards Synkellos. For Casaubon's notes on Synkellos, cf. Grafton, *ibid.*, 101 and 146; for the Slavic version, cf. M. Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky v literatuře církevněšlovanské*, I (Bratislava, 1922), 52–54 (a lucid and still indispensable summary of Istrin), to be used together with O. V. Tvorogov, “Xronika Georgija Sinkella v Drevnej Rusi,” in *Issledovanija po drevnej i novoj literature, Festschrift* for D. S. Lixačev (Leningrad, 1987), 215–19. I thank Simon Franklin for drawing my attention to Tvorogov.

¹¹Cf. G. L. Huxley, “On the Erudition of George the Synkellos,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, vol. 81, C,

Synkellos' complaints, if ever uttered, would have had some validity. Before 1981 Byzantinists generally, and even specialists in the revival of learning around the year 800, seemed not to have dealt with him very much. If I am not mistaken, the late Paul Lemerle did not mention him at all in his justly celebrated *Le premier humanisme byzantin*. Even today, Synkellos' work continues to be looked upon only as a source of information for the periods with which it deals and not for the time in which it was written.¹² To be sure, if we want to know about events around 284, the date at which Synkellos stops, we should turn, say, to Ernst Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire* rather than to Synkellos' chronicle, but Synkellos has something to tell us about the intellectual landscape around the year 800. Our neglect of Synkellos, I hasten to inform Aleksandr Petrovič, is not a particularly modern failing: already the Byzantines committed the same sin. Of the dozen extant manuscripts of his chronicle, several, including the two oldest ones (Wake 5 of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Vat. gr. 155, both of the late ninth century and, to my eye, by the same hand) and one of the latest (Monac. gr. 391), contain only its final part, beginning with Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem and dealing mainly with the Roman Empire. This means that even Byzantine readers considered the early—the most scholarly—part of Synkellos' work to have been of little relevance, and were interested in only the last sixth of the total. At all times, it seems, serious academic scholarship about remote periods is considered less “relevant” than writings on contemporary history.

no. 6 (1981), 207–17; *Georgius Syncellus, Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. A. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig, 1984), cf. a laudatory review by J. N. Ljubarskij in *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 231–32; W. Adler, *George Syncellus and His Predecessors: Ante-Diluvian History in the Chronicle of Syncellus and His Acknowledged Authorities*, Ph.D. diss. (University of Pennsylvania, 1982; reissued in an enlarged and improved form as *Time Immemorial*, DOS 26 [Washington, D.C., 1989]). The exception to the century of oblivion between H. Gelzer (1885) and G. L. Huxley (1981) is R. Laqueur's excellent and unjustly neglected article s.v. Synkellos in *RE*, 2.R., vol. 4 (1932), cols. 1388–1410. Cf. also the few interesting pages devoted to Synkellos by D. Serruys in *BZ* 22 (1913), 21–26, Speck, “Das geteilte Dossier” (as in note 47 below), *passim*, and John Meyendorff's entry “Synkellos” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, XI (1988), 558.

¹²Thus Synkellos' *Chronicle* is absent from our latest compendium of sources for Byzantine history, J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)*, I–II (Wiesbaden, 1982).—For distinguishing a work as source of information on the period with which it dealt from the same work as source for the culture of the period during which it was written, cf. J. N. Ljubarskij in *VizVrem* 45 (1984), 75.

III

Academic scholarship of this kind, however, may survive if it finds its popularizers, and it is likely that Synkellos' (or a like-minded author's) scholarly effort found such popularizers in ninth-century Byzantium. The popularizing vehicle was the short chronicle; dozens, not to say more, of representatives of this genre survive from the later centuries, but only a few from the earlier ones. The earliest surviving redactions date from the second half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth. The best known of these chronicles is the one attributed to Patriarch Nikephoros (in its earliest datable form, represented by London, B.M. Add. 19390, it comes from about the years 821–830 and is certainly earlier than 842)—but Nikephoros' short chronicle as reconstructed by modern scholars does not seem to be related to Synkellos' text, except for some biblical chronology. Another early text, however (preserved in the late tenth-century Vat. gr. 2210), a chronicle compiled in 854, but containing several parts and layers, including a layer completed in 818, contains material that seems to rely for its early part on a text that depended on the scholarly apparatus available to Synkellos, if not on Synkellos himself. The chronicle invokes the authority of Eusebius, Josephus Flavius, Hippolytus of Rome, and the monk Strategios. To be sure, it also has entries that go well beyond A.D. 284. These are of value, for they give us an idea of the historical horizon of a not-very-learned author writing in the early to mid-ninth century. In 1885 Heinrich Gelzer gave the chronicle short shrift: he looked at it as a potential source of truth about the remote past, and was appalled by its blunders. We shall be more sympathetic, for we shall look at the Vatican chronicle, lowly as it may appear, as a source for the intellectual history of its time.¹³

¹³Cf. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Iulius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, II (1885), 329–45; Gelzer used Angelo Mai's printed text, for the cardinal again neglected to identify his manuscript source. To Gelzer, the chronicle's compiler was an "inconsistent fellow," constantly blundering in his computations (p. 337); as for the chronicle itself, it belonged among the most unattractive specimens in the field of chronography (p. 320). The chronicle of the Vat. gr. 2210 was republished after Angelo Mai by A. Schoene, *Eusebii chronicorum liber prior* (Berlin, 1875), 65–102. Since the text by Schoene, who did not see the manuscript itself (cf. p. XIV), contains some errors, I consulted fols. 163r–187v. For the description of the Vaticanus, cf. now Salvatore Lilla, *Codices Vaticani graeci, codices 2162–2254* (Vatican, 1985), 184–92, esp. 187–90. The monk Strategios (fol. 165v) may be Antiochos Strategos of the report—preserved in a Georgian version—on the sack of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614. On the Vatican chronicle, cf., in addition to Lilla, e.g., Fr.

The Vatican chronicle begins by establishing its chronological framework. It starts with Adam, moves very quickly to the Babylonians, Cyrus, and Alexander of Macedon, thus adopting Greek and Jewish points of reference that were to endure for another millennium, especially in the Orthodox world; it mentions Philip Arrhidaeus, the successor to Alexander and a ruler who lent his name to an era used in astronomical computations; then it proceeds to Diocletian, another ruler eponymous of an era. It then skips to about the year 676, the seventh year of Constantine IV (unlike other early chronicles, this one correctly calls him the great-grandson of Heraclius). The year of 676, we learn, was also the year in which Stephen of Alexandria interpreted "the astronomical table" (do not wonder that a Constantinopolitan chronicle should use the name of a scholar "of Alexandria" to obtain a fixed point for its chronology; Stephen was active in the capital). Thereupon the chronicle adds 178 years to 676 and obtains 854, "the thirteenth year of the rule of Michael the Young [i.e., Michael III], his mother Theodora, and his sister Thecla," which thus is the year of its composition as a whole.

The entries that follow are the Olympiads; an entry entitled "How often and when were the Jews subjugated?"; another entry entitled "Putting it another way: on the conquests of Jerusalem" [there were twelve of them, the last one by the Persians; once liberated by Heraclius, the city remains "until now" in the power of the Hagarenes]; an entry "On seven centers that dominated the world," starting with Nineveh and ending with New Rome,

Diekamp in *BZ* 9 (1900), 15 note 1 (distinguishes various parts in the chronicle, including an excerpt from Andrew of Caesarea) and now Mango, *Nikephoros* (as in note 3 above), 4 and idem, *The Tradition* (as in note 47 below), 366–67. I shall quote one quasilateral parallel between Synkellos and the Vatican chronicle: compare the latter's version of the story of the earthquake that occurred at the time of the Crucifixion, an earthquake that the chronicle attributed to one "Phlagon" (fols. 164 r–v = 65, ed. Schoene) with Synkellos' report of the same story, correctly attributed to Phlegon of Tralleis via Eusebius (*Chron.*, 614, 12–19, Bonn ed. = 394, 7–12, ed. Mosshammer). To explain this coincidence, it is more reasonable to assume the Vatican chronicle's dependence on Synkellos, than to think of a common source. Another 9th-century short chronicle was published from Madrid, Bibl. Nacional 4701, olim 121 (10th–11th century) by A. Bauer, *Anonymi chronographia syntomos* (Leipzig, 1909). It dates from the time of Basil I (d. 886). Cf. VII, X, XI on Synkellos himself or Synkellos' predecessors as the source of the *Anonymus*, and similar observations in idem, "Beiträge zu Eusebios und den byzantinischen Chronographen," *SbWien*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 162, 3 (Vienna, 1909), 24, 30–31, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45–51 (common sources with Synkellos; one should, I believe, entertain the possibility of *Anonymus*' dependence on Synkellos).

that is, Constantinople, a city to which power migrated after the abolition of paganism by Constantine the Great. Finally, there is an entry about the dates of the composition of the four Gospels [that of Matthew was the earliest one]; this entry reappears in a number of early chronicles and was tentatively attributed to Hippolytos of Thebes, an author difficult to date and to localize.¹⁴

Ecclesiastical lists follow. Practically no details are given on individuals, except for synchronisms with emperors and, occasionally, with martyrs (such as Polycarp of Smyrna), heretics (such as Paul of Samosata or Arius), or councils (such as that of Nicaea). The first list gives the patriarchs of Rome from St. Peter to Paschal I, who died in 824. Next come the patriarchs of Alexandria, from St. Mark to the Melkite Peter, whose last year of rule was 651. The Alexandrian list bears traces of a previous Monophysite redaction. Third are listed the patriarchs of Antioch, starting again with St. Peter and ending with the Melkite Anastasius II, whose pontificate ended in 609. Fourth are the patriarchs of Jerusalem, beginning with James, the brother of the Lord, and ending with Modestos who is dated, not quite correctly, to 630. Sophronios is not mentioned, although it is quite likely that this last patriarch of Jerusalem before the Arab conquest was read or at least known by name in the milieu to which the compiler of the chronicle belonged. The patriarchs of Constantinople come in the very last place; their list extends from Metrophanes, dated 314, to Methodius who died in 847.

The next items in the chronicle deal with the jurisdictions of the various patriarchates, starting again with that of Rome. Rome is given a huge territory from Great Britain to the lands of the Slavs, the Avars and the "Scythians," a term that by the time of our chronicle must have meant Bulgarians. It is interesting to note what Slavic territories people in Constantinople granted to Rome shortly

before the mission of Cyril and Methodius. In the section on jurisdiction the patriarchate of Constantinople comes second, not last. Its boundaries include Sicily, Kherson, and Khazaria. Finally, the areas allotted to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem are given—I shall omit details concerning the extent of their jurisdictions.

Next the rulers of various peoples are listed, and it is here that the chronicle shows parallels to the work of Synkellos or one of his sources, Eusebius. Some of these rulers and peoples were useful for establishing connections and synchronisms with the Old Testament; others were not. The peoples in question are Chaldaeans, Arabians, Assyrians, Egyptians, but also Sicyonians, Argives, Mycenaean (ending with Orestes and Agamemnon), Athenians (whose rule ended with a certain Agmaion, that is, Alkmaion who appears as Akmaion in Malalas [72, 10, Bonn ed.] and as "Almeus" in Scaliger's *Excerpta Barbari* [300, 1, ed. Frick]; "Agmaion" died in the thirty-second year of the biblical king Manasses), Lacedemonians, Corinthians, Latins (whose rule, we learn, lasted until the fortieth year of the aforementioned Manasses, which is given as the year of the world 4827), and Romans, ending with Tarquinius Superbus—the time of the kings is considered as a separate unit in Roman history. Roman kings were followed by consuls who governed until the first year of Caesar Augustus, the ruler of the first Rome.

Next, the chronicle goes back in time and lists rulers of the Medes whose empire was taken over by the Persians, and the Macedonians whose dominance ended with Alexander the Great. In accordance with Daniel's prophecy, Alexander's empire was divided into four successor monarchies: the Macedonians; the Ptolemies (who came to an end when Cleopatra was captured by Caesar Augustus); the Asians; and the Seleucids. There follow the Lydians, ending with Croesus, from whom the Persians took over; Babylonians, subdued by the Persians; the Persians themselves, down to Darius, who was vanquished by Alexander; Jews, until the Babylonian Captivity; the Kingdom of Israel, united and divided, starting with David and ending with Hosea; Jewish archpriests followed by "kings of the Jews from among the gentiles," for instance, Herod, a contemporary of Caesar Augustus, the emperor in whose forty-second year our Lord was born. This, incidentally, is the third time that Augustus provides the final or initial date of a series. The next rubric reads "Persian kings again"; this time the chronicle means the Sasanian

¹⁴Cf. Diekamp, *Hippolytos* (as in note 5 above), liv–lv and 40. Concerning the modern survival of the Vatican chronicle's inherited points of reference, Aleksandr Petrovič will recall the opening scene of Gogol's *Inspector General* (1836 and 1841) in which the mayor speaks of the local history teacher: "He explains things with such a passion. . . . I heard him once: well, as long as he was talking about the Assyrians and the Babylonians, things were more or less all right; but when he got to Alexander of Macedon. . . . he ran down from the podium, grabbed a chair and with all his strength smashed it against the floor. Alexander of Macedon was a hero, no doubt about it, but what's the point of breaking chairs?" Was Gogol aware of the venerable ancestry of his famous passage? For the wider context, cf. A. Bauer, *Ursprung und Fortwirken der christlichen Weltchronik* (Graz, 1910), esp. 18–19 (somewhat marred by anti-Semitism).

ans, and must be relying on some Byzantine source. The Sasanian rule began with Ardashir and ended with the Saracen conquest, the latter dated to the thirteenth year of Heraclius.

The last list of the main part of our short chronicle deals with the rulers of the Saracens. It is this entry that distinguishes the chronicle from the other earliest members of the genre known to me. It starts with the year 623 and Mohammed—which is to be expected—and ends with Harun al-Rashid, that is, with the year 808 or 809. After Harun the chronicle records seven years of internecine wars, which brings us down to the year 816 or so. The Saracen list lets the anarchy among the Arabs last “until the present eleventh indiction” and ends with the prophetic statement, “In our days (νῦν) the Lord shall put an end (κόψει) to the years of their rule and shall raise the horn of the Christian empire against them.” The closest eleventh indiction after 816 falls into the year 818. The upbeat prophecy seemingly dates from the days of the hated Iconoclast, Leo V, and brings to a close one layer in the chronicle, copied mechanically by the compiler of the Vaticanus or by some predecessor of his.¹⁵

In order to come down to his own time, the compiler continued with his work. In what seems to be an appendix, he counted from Adam again, invoking Epiphanius of Cyprus as his informant. He soon arrived at Augustus and was ready for a list of emperors. There are actually two lists. The first, starting with Augustus, is that of “Pagan emperors who ruled in Rome”: the last emperor there is Maximinus (Daia? Maximianus?), though perhaps it should have been Maxentius, the foe vanquished by Constantine at the Milvian Bridge near Rome. The second lists “Christian emperors who ruled in Byzantium,” that is, Constantinople. The last of these emperors is Basil I, but his regnal years are not given; therefore we can deduce that the appendix to our chronicle was compiled between 867 and 886.

The Vatican chronicle shares two characteristics with the earliest comparable representatives of the genre. First of all, it is considerably out of date when it names prelates or rulers reigning outside

of Constantinople. Thus, the latest pope it mentions died in 824, leaving the chronicler thirty years behind his time. If we consider the fact that the chronicle’s compiler put Rome first in his system of patriarchates and recall the close contacts between eighth- and ninth-century Iconoclasts and Rome, we should find this time lag remarkable. For the patriarchs of Alexandria the chronicler is about 200 years out of date, for the patriarchs of Antioch, 250 years. He is only marginally better on the patriarchs of Jerusalem where the time lag is about 220 years. Even if we can explain some gaps by lack of interest, or willing ignorance of the names of non-Chalcedonian prelates, this, too, is remarkable. When it comes to the Arabs, on the other hand, the chronicler is comparatively up to date, only 35 years behind—the second shortest time lag among foreign entries. Reasonably enough, keeping up with the Arabs was at least as vital as keeping up with the popes of Rome.

The second characteristic that our chronicle shares with its contemporaries—indeed, with all Byzantine historiography of the period under discussion—are the gaps in its information about rulers who reigned in Constantinople. In several cases, it offers either insufficient or wrong information for relatively recent emperors, including one belonging to the Heraclian family, Heraclonas, whom it omits altogether. The chronicle attributed to Nikephoros is even worse, for it leaves out both Heraclonas and Constantine III, the short-lived two rulers between Heraclius and Constans II; the chronicles of the Vat. gr. 1291 and of London, B.M. Add. 19390 call Leontius Leo; and refer to Justinian II as Justin.¹⁶ In other words, early short chronicles lack reliable information on rulers who reigned from 100 to 200 years or so before the chronicles themselves were compiled, in striking contrast to the precision and reliability of the chronicle of Nikephoros regarding the genealogy of Valentinian the Great and Theodosius I, emperors of the fourth century, that is, more than 400 years distant from the chronicle’s compilation.¹⁷ Their information on the patriarchs of Constantinople should have been flawless—but it was not. The Vatican chronicle omits or erroneously gives the years of the respective pontificates of all the

¹⁵Vat. gr. 2210, fol. 184r: ἀρῶν [= Harun al Rashid] ὁ ἀδε(λφός) αὐτ(ο)ῦ ἔτη ἡ ἀναρχία καὶ πόλεμος(ς) εἰς τ(οὺς) υἱοὺς αὐτῶ(ν) ἔτη ζ' μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστάσης τῆς ἐπινεμήσεως· κόψει ὁ θε(ο)ς νῦν τὰ ἔτη τῆς δυναστείας αὐτῶν· καὶ ὑψώσει κατ' αὐτῶ(ν) τὸ κέρας τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν βασι(λείας). The transcription of this passage in Schoene, *Eusebi chron.* (as in note 13 above), 97 is misleading in one important spot, and A. V. Gutschmid’s commentary, confusing.

¹⁶Cf. Vat. gr. 2210, vol. 187r and *Nicephori . . . opuscula historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 99; Vat. gr. 1291, fol. 17r; London, B.M. Add. 19390, fols. 21v–22r; Oxford, Wake 5, fol. 4r–4v. A confusion between Justinian and Justin did happen on a higher literary level as well: cf. Evagrius Scholasticus, *Hist. Eccl.*, IV:14 = 164, 2, ed. Bidez and Parmentier.

¹⁷Cf. de Boor, *Nicephori . . . opuscula* (as in note 16), 103.

three patriarchs of the second Iconoclast period, and it misreads the name of one of them, Antonios, as Antoninos.¹⁸ Should we believe that Anthony (821–837 or 838) was only imperfectly remembered in Iconodule circles less than twenty years after his pontificate?

I know only one early catalogue that lists all the emperors between Heraclius and Justinian II. It is the one contained in the illuminated Ptolemy of the Vatican.¹⁹ That imperial list's compiler must have had access to authoritative sources: this, coupled with the manuscript's quality, may point to the court itself. If I am right in dating the Vatican Ptolemy to the late eighth century, that list of rulers would also be the earliest of all preserved. We must conclude, then, that in the first part of the ninth century it was difficult to reconstruct Byzantium's recent past.

IV

There is a great likelihood that the later part of George Synkellos' scholarly effort survives in a work much more extensive than the Vatican chronicle: I have in mind the jewel of middle Byzantine historiography, the Chronicle of Theophanes (d. 818). Cyril Mango's inquiry into who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes is a milestone in Byzantine studies; ever since the appearance of that article, both the converts and the skeptics must ask themselves: what kind of text—or better yet, whose text—are we reading in Theophanes?²⁰ In

¹⁸Omissions and errors of the Vat. gr. 2210 are on fol. 175r. The durations of pontificates of the three heretical patriarchs of the first iconoclast period are given correctly. Even if we should assume with A. von Gutschmid (Schoene, *Eusebi chron.* 81, as in note 13 above) that the list of the patriarchs of Constantinople was originally drawn up under Nikephoros (whose years are not given) and completed after Methodius (most probably, we may surmise, under Ignatius) we must find the repression or ignorance of the recent iconoclast past remarkable. The patriarchal list in the "Nikephoros" chronicle of London, B.M. Add. 19390 ends on fol. 23v with the precise entry θεόδωτος ἔτη ε μῆνας (sic) θ' αὐγουστιου(ς). This last word, still in yellow ink, seems to be by a somewhat later hand, the same that added the words ἔτη β after Emperor Theophilus' name. Cf. now Mango, *Nikephoros* (as in note 3 above), 3 and 23–24.

¹⁹Vat. gr. 1291, fol. 17r. I see now that the late 9th-century short chronicle of Madrid, ed. Bauer, *Anonymus* (as in note 13 above) gives the correct sequence of rulers between Heraclius and Constans II.

²⁰Cf. C. Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?" *ZRVI* 18 (1978), 9–17. As samples of the initial reaction to the shock, cf. I. S. Čičurov in *VizVrem* 42 (1981), 78–87 and esp. J. N. Ljubarskij, *ibid.* 45 (1984), 72–87 (Theophanes' passages adduced by Mango, including the crucial ones 490, 3 and 440, 7, ed. de Boor, were simply declared unconvincing and a systemic analysis was carried out instead; some valid observations on Theophanes' respective handling of Procopius and Theo-

order to answer this question, we must put ourselves on the firmest possible ground and begin with the preface, for, whatever else Theophanes may have written in his chronicle, he surely wrote that.²¹ I propose that we should believe what Theophanes' preface asserts, and that we should agree on the following points:

(1) Theophanes did take some material or pointers for his work over from Synkellos—unless we interpret the unclear ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε of the preface (4, 2) as referring to a general stimulus, or even a bequest of material assistance rather than to detailed drafts and notes put at Theophanes' disposal. Incidentally, Theophanes also may have taken over some of Synkellos' prejudices—perhaps his hostility toward Emperor Nikephoros I: Theophanes tells us about an anonymous synkellos who was involved in a plot against that emperor and who became one of Nikephoros' victims.²² This was early in 808, thus at a time when our George Synkellos was still alive, even though by that time he was only a *former* patriarchal synkellos.

(2) Theophanes' style and learning were inferior to those of Synkellos. Anyone who reads Theophanes' preface right after Synkellos' introductions to his own work perceives the difference in level between the two texts. It follows that the stylistically more polished parts of Theophanes' chronicle are the best candidates for attribution to Synkellos' clean copy (it is impossible to identify the rough notes that Theophanes may have inherited from Synkellos on the grounds of style alone).

(3) Theophanes was a scissors-and-paste compiler, even if he made adjustments inside his clippings.²³ This observation is compatible with Mango's opinion that there is little or nothing by Theophanes in the chronicle that goes by his name. There exists one difficulty, however; The-

phylact Simocatta were offered, but his dependence on George of Pisidia was not given the attention it deserved, beyond the mere mention of the fact. In sum, to Ljubarskij Theophanes was not a scissors-and-paste compiler and Synkellos' and Theophanes' working techniques and self-awareness were directly opposed to each other). Laqueur (as in note 11 above), col. 1407 assumed that Theophanes was the editor of Synkellos' "Select Chronography" that remained in a draft form at the author's death. We can now say that he was on the right track.

²¹Cf. Theophanes, *Chron.*, 3, 9–4, 24, ed. de Boor.

²²Cf. Theophanes, *Chron.*, 483, 26–484, 2, ed. de Boor.

²³We can deduce Theophanes' technique from his handling of "Malalas," cf., e.g., the excellent analysis of all relevant passages in Else Rochow, "Malalas bei Theophanes," *Klio* 65, 2 (1983), 459–74. Cf. also E. and M. Jeffreys in *Studies in John Malalas*, ed. E. Jeffreys et al., (Sydney, 1990), 257–59, 268–76. Unfortunately, we do not know which version of Malalas (or of a common source?) Theophanes had in front of him.

ophanes explicitly asserts in the preface (4, 8–9) that he collected material on his own: “For we, too, searched for many books (πολλὰς γὰρ βίβλους καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκζητήσαντες) according to our possibilities, and investigated them.” This assertion sounds plausible; if it is true, it makes Theophanes an “independent” researcher as well and weakens the maximalist interpretation of Mango’s thesis.²⁴

When we examine the materials available to Theophanes—whether he gathered them himself or inherited them from Synkellos—we find that he, too, faced the same difficulties that the compilers of ninth-century short chronicles later encountered. He had trouble finding sources for the Eastern patriarchates and for some relatively recent Byzantine reigns, especially those of Heraclius and his successors. While “Theophanes” (from now on, I shall put his name in quotation marks to avoid returning to the question of authorship of his Chronicle) had the opportunity, and the intelligence, to use, in addition to a version of Malalas or a source common with him, the high style writers Procopius and Theophylact Simocatta for recounting events down to 602 (Evagrius Scholasticus, incidentally, went the same route), for Heraclius he relied to quite an extent on poems of George of Pisidia: that on the Avar war, but especially those called “On Persian Wars” and “Heraclias.” In fact, extensive and insufficiently digested metrical passages from the third “recitation” of the latter poem have been salvaged mostly from “Theophanes’” prose. To crib from a poem is not the most conventional way of gathering historical information, unless of course conventional narrative sources are not available. I surmise that Greek narrative sources for Heraclius’ eastern campaigns

were meager to start with. Any reader of the final part of the *Chronicon Paschale* can easily grasp why. The *Chronicon*’s horizon did not extend much beyond the threatened—at times besieged—capital and its environs. Once the emperor and his new bride moved to the East, they and their Persian war were out of sight. We learn about the faraway campaigns only through the few official dispatches from the Eastern front that reached the patriarchate chancery and were made public by it; and the regnal years of the *Chronicon* religiously include those of the young Heraclius—New Constantine, residing in Constantinople. The Arab conquest and both emperors’ deaths made the struggle with Sasanian Persia recede in importance and left intellectuals of the capital with less leisure and fewer sources of patronage for describing events overshadowed by the new calamity.²⁵

Much has been written about the sources that “Theophanes” used in the later part of his work. One of them was Oriental. Another he shared with Nicephorus’ *Breviarium*. Some may have been official pronouncements. Some, finally, were tracts roughly contemporary with Theophanes. These postulated tracts may have been less numerous and diverse and less neatly identifiable than has been suggested a dozen years ago, but they did exist.²⁶ They were polemical pamphlets in both low and high style and dealt with contemporary history. One of them, by Sergius the Confessor, we know only through an entry (codex 67) in the *Bibliotheca* by Photius, Sergius’ putative son. Sergius’ work went as far down as 827/8, with flashbacks to Constantine V’s time. We can form some idea of what these lost occasional historical works may have been from a summary of one of them, preserved by Theophanes Continuatus. Its author was Theognostos, a professional grammarian and specialist in orthography, and its subject, the unsuccessful uprising in Sicily by the philandering tur-

²⁴ In his article (p. 16), Mango assumed that the “many books” of Theophanes’ passage amounted to perhaps not more than five or six. This is possible. Still, on the one hand, we do not know whether Synkellos himself operated with many more books; on the other, Theophanes may have had a reputable library at his disposal. In our own earlier article (DOP 27 [1973], 265–66) we adduced *De cerim.* I, 456, 13–457, 13, Bonn ed. for the story on how Leo Katakylas’ (ca. 900) rare text on the procedures to be followed during imperial military campaigns was unearthed by Constantine VII’s court researchers in the library of Theophanes’ monastery at Megas Agros. We also adduced (p. 266 note 153) two more surviving manuscripts that at some time had belonged to that monastery’s library; and noted that by the 13th century this library possessed thirty-five volumes. (On Leo Katakylas see now J. F. Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, CFHB 28 [Vienna, 1990], 180–81.) Perhaps Synkellos left Theophanes with a list of sources and passages to be excerpted, in addition to finished notes (such as 490, 3 and 440, 7, ed. de Boor) that can plausibly be attributed to his pen. There is no end to speculations.

²⁵ For George of Pisidia in Theophanes, cf. *Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi: I. Panegirici epici*, ed. A. Pertusi (Ettal, 1960), esp. 26–29; 31; 276–92. If I understand her thorough study correctly, the assessment offered here is borne out by Ann S. Proudfoot’s “The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty,” *Byzantion* 44 (1975), 367–439. Theophanes’ troubles were already noticed in the brilliant, but by now half-forgotten, essay by C. Neumann, *Die Weltstellung des byzantinischen Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen* (Heidelberg, 1894; repr. Amsterdam, 1956), 16. Michael and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale, 284–628 AD* (Liverpool, 1989), xxvii are, after Gelzer, aware of the Constantinopolitan blinders worn by the *Chronicon*’s author, but do not exploit the point.

²⁶ For too generous an assumption as to the number of the tracts, cf. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI*, 1 (1978), 389–97.

march Euphemios who had himself proclaimed emperor with Arab help.²⁷ Two other pieces (in fact parts of the same whole) have come down to us—I have in mind the *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio* and the story, discovered by Ivan Dujčev half a century ago, of the unlucky expedition of Nikephoros I against Bulgaria—a story the source of which may have been used by “Theophanes.”²⁸ Both these independently preserved fragments and the lost historical report by Theognostos covered the early years of the ninth century.

V

Though George Synkellos resided in Constantinople, it is likely that he had not been brought up and educated there, but in Palestine. At least, both his chronicle and “Theophanes” contain enough indications to suggest that at some time George had lived and worked in Palestine.²⁹ On the other

²⁷Theognostos dedicated his work “On Orthography” to Leo V and wrote the story of Euphemios soon after 826/7. Cf. Theognostos Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας . . . ed. K. Alpers (Hamburg, 1964) and Theophanes Continuatus, *Hist.*, 2, 27 = 81, 16–83, 11, esp. 82, 17–20, Bonn ed.

²⁸For the improved text (with an Italian translation) of *Scriptor Incertus* and the “Chronicle of the year 811,” cf. now *Scriptor Incertus*, ed. Francesca Iadevaia (Messina, 1987), with an introductory essay by Emilio Pinto. C. de Boor left a precious unpublished draft of an edition of *Scriptor Incertus*. Cf. also Karayannopoulos and Weiss, *Quellenkunde* (as in note 12 above), 342 (= nos. 206 and 207).

²⁹It was asserted that such passages as Synkellos, *Chron.*, 200, 21–201, 3, Bonn ed. = 122, 18–22, ed. Mosshammer, where the author says that he saw the tomb of Rachel on frequent occasions, when he passed it on his way to Bethlehem and the “so-called Old Lavra” of Chariton may go back to Synkellos’ sources, esp. the 3rd-century Sextus Iulius Africanus. Cf. the doubts expressed by V. Grecu, “Hat Georg Synkellos weite Reisen unternommen?,” *BShAcRoum* 28, 2 (1947), 241–45, esp. 243–44, concerning Synkellos’ extended stay in Palestine. These doubts were too easily shared. Would Africanus have written ἐκεῖσε instead of ἐκεῖ in the passage in question? Worse still, the Lavra of Chariton, a creation of the first half of the 4th century, could not have existed in Africanus’ time, let alone be called “Old” by then. It seems to have been known by this epithet already by mid-6th century (cf. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymios*, chap. 19, p. 29, 27–28, ed. Schwartz, and *Vita Charitonis*, chap. 23, ed. G. Garitte in *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome* 21 [1941], 33, 15–16, if in fact this latter *Life* is as early as the 6th century; it seems later to me). In all likelihood, the Lavra of Chariton got the epithet of “Old” in the early 6th century, to distinguish it from the neighboring (cf. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Kyriakos*, chap. 10, p. 228, 26–28, ed. Schwartz) *New Lavra*, founded by secessionist Origenist monks at that time. This would take us well beyond the *floruits* of Panodoros and Annianos, the other avowed sources of Synkellos. The Lavra of Chariton must have been called “Old” in Synkellos’ time; it surely bore this name at the beginning or, at the latest, toward the middle of the 9th century. This is implied by the Sirmondian Synaxary’s entries under 19 April and 26 July on the 9th-century John (or Johns) of the Lavra of Chariton, one of whom was called Παλαιολαυρίτης. Cf. *Synaxarium CP* 615, 7–616, 11;

hand, the author or authors of the Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικά are certainly from Constantinople.³⁰ This being so, ironically, the most scholarly Byzantine historical work dating from around the year 800 is represented by a writer of “provincial” origins while the stylistically and conceptually lowest pseudohistorical piece roughly datable to our period comes surely from the capital. The work’s compilation date is eighth century—practically everyone agrees on this point.³¹ But when ex-

843, 23–844, 10 (Delehaye believed in one John only, cf. *ibid.*, 1028, *ad* 843, 24). Cf. “Les premiers monastères de Palestine” (unsigned, but by J. Vailhé), *Bessarione* 2, 3 (1897–98), esp. pp. 50–58, “La Laure de Souka ou la Vieille Laure (345)”; S. Vailhé, *ROC* 4 (1899), 524–25 (= no. 21); and, above all, S. Vailhé and S. Pétridès, “Saint Jean le Paléolaurite. . . ,” *ROC* 9 (1904), 333–58; 491–511, esp. pp. 491–98. (There were two Johns. The one “of the Old Lavra” of Chariton died at the beginning of the 9th century, in any case, before 845; the other, a pupil of Gregory the Decapolite, after 842.)

³⁰Text in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger (Leipzig, 1901), 19–73; Preger’s text was reprinted, with an English translation and a useful commentary, in *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. Av. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden, 1984). The main outline of my treatment of the *Parastaseis* here had been drawn before I received the latter book.

³¹“Practically,” for now we have a proposal to date the compilation of the *Parastaseis* one or two centuries later. Cf. P. Speck, “War Bronze ein knappes Metall? Die Legende von dem Stier auf dem Bus in den ‘Parastaseis’ 42,” *Hellenika* 39 (1988), 3–17. Speck’s “Arbeitshypothese” (p. 5) is as follows: the *Parastaseis* as we have it today is a bad copy, made at the time of the “Byzantine Renaissance,” that is, in the 9th or 10th centuries, of an earlier dossier. It is not clear from Speck’s argumentation whether this dossier was put together in late antiquity, in the early dark centuries, in the 7th, or in the 9th–10th centuries (cf. the contradictory statements on pp. 5, 6, 16, 17). All this (and much more) in the article is demonstrated with the touch of a consummate magician conjuring up evidence we no longer have, and leaving aside such evidence as we do possess. The evidence at hand allows us to make reasonable guesses about the collecting habits (the “encyclopedic techniques”) of the professionals active during the “Byzantine Renaissance.” As a result, we can assert that an abyss separates the *Parastaseis* from the “philological-antiquarian efforts” (p. 6) of these professionals; this is true even of the sloppiest of these efforts such as the *De administrando imperio*. Moreover, if the dossier of the *Parastaseis* dates from the early dark centuries, why does this work contain a number of references to the 8th century? And if that dossier was compiled in the 9th–10th centuries, why does it not contain any allusion to any event later than the 8th? The late 10th-century *Patria* mentioned magnates and emperors of the 9th and 10th centuries on a number of occasions. To be sure, the *Parastaseis* did come within the purview of the encyclopedists of the 10th century: the *Suda* repeatedly makes use of it, or of some form of it. For the more conventional datings of our text, cf. G. Millet in *BCH* 70 (1946), 393–402 (742–46, speculative); G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, Bibliothèque byzantine, Etudes 8 (Paris, 1984), esp. pp. 29–48 and C. Mango, *DOP* 17 (1963), 60 (mid-8th century). In their dating, too early for my taste, Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople* (as in note 30 above) title; 23, 24, 29, 53, hesitate between the early and the first half of the 8th century. They have to admit that parts of the *Parastaseis* point to the time of Constantine V, but consider these

actly was the *Parastaseis* compiled? In my view, in the last quarter of that century. The work is only moderately anti-Leo III and may even call him “pious” on one occasion (if it is not confusing Leo III with Leo I; if it is not, it must be referring to the years 740–41 when it speaks of the restoration of the capital’s western, that is, land walls); on the other hand, it contains a reference to the burning of the monk Anastasius in the Hippodrome, an event that occurred “in our time” (ἐφ’ ἡμῶν, Combeffis’s safe emendation of the sole manuscript’s εὐφημῶν). The story of Anastasius, guardedly narrated, introduces us to the world, but not to the tone, of the Life of Stephen the Younger, which describes tribulations visited upon Iconodules (also in the Hippodrome) in the 760s and later years. Of course, the author of the Life of Stephen does it most stridently, for he could easily afford it: he wrote under an Iconodule ruler in the first decade of the ninth century. The mild, and not quite consistent, disapproval of “Konon,” that is, Leo III, and the rather muted show of sympathy for the monk Anastasius, “burned” alive because he “opposed the emperor on account of his truthful ways” (δι’ ἀληθείας τρόπον ἀντιλέγων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκαύθη) fit well the years between 775, the death of Constantine V, and 787, the reestablishment of Orthodoxy. One further passage in the *Parastaseis* is compatible with the proposed dating. We learn that according to what was being said at the time of the writing of that passage, and according to the opinions of professional painters, a picture (στήλη ἐκ χρωμάτων) of Emperor Philippikos (711–713) was perfectly true to life. Such retrospective judgments presuppose Philippikos out of the way and could have been uttered as late as two generations after his reign. If I had to assign the compilation of the *Parastaseis* to one reign, I would opt for that of Leo IV (775–780).³²

parts to be “limited additions.” Cameron’s and Herrin’s dating is too early for A. P. Kazhdan as well, cf. *BZ* 80 (1987), 402. The somewhat indecisive dating in A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* [= Πουκίλια Βυζαντινά 8] (1988), 40–49 (p. 40: “about the very end of the 8th century”; p. 46, “between 775 and 802”) on the whole agrees with the one proposed here. Cf. also the next note for the article by O. Kresten.

³²Cf. Preger, *Scriptores*, 20, 13–14 (Leo who restored “the western walls of the great gates” should be Leo III rather than Leo I, cf. Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople* [as in note 30 above], 170); 22, 22–23 (Leo the Isaurian was foolish); 61, 7–10 (burning of monk Anastasius); 71, 1–6 (painted portrait of Philippikos [not a mosaic or painted statue, *pace* Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople*, as in note 30 above, 272]). On the date of 740–741 for the restoration of sections of the land wall of Constantinople, cf. C. Mango’s and my forthcoming *Corpus* of dated

The home of the author (or authors) of the *Parastaseis* is of course the capital, but the level of standard culture reflected in the work is embarrassingly low. It invokes the “chroniclers” Herodotus and Hippolytus; this is still acceptable. It is hardly acceptable, however, that the author (or authors) should attribute to these very men the information that Constantine the Great had beheaded his third son, for this puts Herodotus in or after the fourth century after Christ. In an inserted piece, the *Parastaseis* refers to Demosthenes and makes him predict that a famous man will be killed by a statue “in this place,” that is, in the Kynegion of Constantinople. The event referred to is a fatal accident that happened to one Himerios, presumably between 711 and 713, at the time of Emperor Philippikos. Thus Demosthenes’ prophecy came true after a thousand years.³³

Our author introduces the third-century physician and philosopher Galen; to be sure, Galen was not only a medical authority par excellence, along with Hippocrates, but also a school author, studied in literary classes of secondary schools, although we do not know whether he was used in such a way already in the eighth century. But the *Parastaseis* puts Galen in the time of Emperor Zeno, almost three hundred years after Galen’s death.³⁴

In addition to impossible chronology and fantastic information there is, I fear, straight imposture in our text. How to pin down some of the writers quoted by our author, such as one Agkyrianos, “a

Byzantine inscriptions. The dating of (at least) chap. 3 of the *Parastaseis* to the time after 775 is also proposed by O. Kresten, “Leon III. und die Landmauern von Konstantinopel. Zur Datierung von c. 3 der Παραστάσεις σύνδρομοι χρονικά,” *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 34 (1992). Kresten argues as follows: (a) the repairing of the walls by a Leo referred to in chap. 3 is to be dated to 740–741: (b) since that Leo is called μέγας, i.e., “the Elder,” there must exist or have existed a Leo “the Younger,” i.e., Leo IV (775–780), by the time of the composition of chap. 3. I am indebted to Prof. Kresten for access to the typescript of his article. Berger, *Untersuchungen* (as in note 31 above), 45 does not accept the emendation ἐφ’ ἡμῶν, but does not explain the nonsensical εὐφημῶν.

³³Cf. Preger, *Scriptores*, 24, 1–2 (Herodotus and Hippolytus; the attempt to change Herodotus into Herodian [e.g., Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople*, as in note 30 above, 42, note 115] leads nowhere); 36, 19–21 (prediction derived from Demosthenes’ writings).

³⁴Preger, *Scriptores*, 45, 10–46, 12. Galen’s works were read (or studied) along with those of fiction, of orators (who included not only Demosthenes, but also Herodotus and Procopius), grammarians, and commentators of Holy Writ and Aristotle. Cf. P. Wendland, *Alexandri in librum De sensu commentarium* (Berlin, 1901), XVI, 21–25, from cod. Hierosol. Panag. Taphou 106, fol. 7r (late 13th century). John Duffy discussed this text in a paper delivered at the 16th Byzantine Studies Conference (Baltimore, Nov. 1990).

man from Ancyra(?)” who wrote in the fourth century or later, or the chroniclers Apollinarios and Milichios, the latter writing after Constantine the Great? I suspect that they never existed—I doubt that they can be rescued as authors of genuine, but now lost, works, whose names had been misunderstood.³⁵ I came across only one sure and more or less correct reference made in the *Parastaseis* to an authentic historical source. It quotes Eusebius twice, once in connection with the statue of Christ set up in Paneas-Caesarea by the woman with the issue of blood (αἱμορροοῦσα), a statue said to have been destroyed by Julian. A part of this reference, which is also in “Theophanes” and earlier sources, is in fact to be found in Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*, even if the *Parastaseis* may have it secondhand. Alas, our text’s other reference to Eusebius is spurious. In it, Eusebius is made to interpret the statue set up by Constantine in the Forum as that of “some pagan.”³⁶ There are other shadowy personalities in the *Parastaseis*, such as Kanonaris the philosopher, a proponent of ancestral pagan values, beheaded by Constantine the Great, or Ligyrios the pagan astronomer, who allegedly was consul under Leo I.³⁷

The word *χορονικά* in the title of the *Parastaseis* suggests that the work was to be passed off as history. True enough, we detect in this text some notion of periodization and some awareness of a hierarchical world order. It distinguished between Pagan Roman emperors (designated as such) and Christian ones (mentioned either by name alone or by name and identifying epithets in case of homonymy; these epithets were neutral, except, of course, for clear heretics). This was a distinction which we already encountered in the chronicle of the Vat. gr. 2210. Foreign rulers were outside the pale; hence Chosroes was a “tyrant” of the Persians, even though Byzantine authors bestowed the title of basileus upon Sasanian kings. All these distinctions, however, are not firmly delineated.

Objectively, the bulk of datable information con-

tained in the *Parastaseis* comes from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, but there is no firm conception of chronological sequence in our text. It acclaimed Constantine the Great for his military victory over Byzas and Ante (figures of the mythical past invented to explain the name of Byzantium); and the words of that acclamation were copied from a monument made in the early sixth century and still extant today. In another passage Byzas, the founder of the city, was also said to have fought against Constantine the Great in the Forum Bovis of the capital.³⁸ Functions and officials datable to the early or middle Byzantine periods (χαρτουλάριος, ταξεῶται) were taken for granted and quoted without explanation, but the *Parastaseis* showed disarming innocence about basic institutions of old: there is no other etymology of “Senate,” we are told by it, than that a man by the name of “Senate” built the Senate.³⁹ Along with such proofs of ignorance in the secular realm, the *Parastaseis* displayed reasonable familiarity with church matters and assumed it on the part of the reader as well. It quoted mere names, without epithets, of the early patriarchs of Constantinople and it showed discernment with respect to heresies. One of them (Arianism) was condemned outright (perhaps on account of the taint of Arianism attached to the Iconoclasts) while another (Monothelism) was treated with some indulgence (perhaps because Emperor Philippikos, the last monothelite, had ousted the “godless” Justinian II, the *bête noire* of the *Parastaseis*). Philippikos was described as “mild” (and thus in possession of one of the ideal imperial virtues); he “erred,” to be sure, but he did it “on account of ignorance.”⁴⁰ In sum, when we examine the *Parastaseis* for its conception of history, especially secular history, we end up wondering whether our text’s creators were conscious of such a thing. But the *Parastaseis* was interested in history as a task: it had “Galen” assert that two statues of Gorgons standing in Constantinople were writing histories of emperors.⁴¹

Who wrote the *Parastaseis* and for what public was it written? Its anachronisms, its bizarre errors,

³⁵ Cf. Preger, *Scriptores*, 25, 20–26, 2 (Agkyrianos; the answer to the question “A Quotation from S. Nilus of Ancyra in an Iconodule Tract?” asked by Alan Cameron in *JTS*, n.s. 27 [1976], 128–31, is “no”); 66, 4–5 (Apollinarios and Milichios).

³⁶ Statue in Paneas: Preger, *Scriptores*, 53, 11–22 (ultimate source: Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VII:18:2, but cf. Theophanes, *Chron.*, 49, 9–19, ed. de Boor [with sources] and sources quoted in Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople* [as in note 30 above], 237). Constantine’s statue: Preger, *Scriptores*, 65, 18–66, 3.

³⁷ Cf. Preger, *Scriptores*, 55, 19–56, 5 (Kanonaris); 22, 6 and 64, 11–12 (Ligyrios). Cameron and Herrin grant the fictitiousness of Milichios, Kanonaris, and Ligyrios, cf. *Constantinople*, 42, 175, 241.

³⁸ Cf. Preger, *Scriptores*, 23, 7 (Chosroes a tyrant of the Persians); 42, 2–6 (Constantine’s victory over Byzas and Ante; quotation from Porphyrios the charioteer’s monument); 54, 19–20 (battle in the Forum Bovis).

³⁹ Preger, *Scriptores*, 31, 12–13 (ταξεῶται); 49, 15–17 (Senate).

⁴⁰ Preger, *Scriptores*, esp. 25, 17–20 (misdeeds of the Arians); 71, 2–3 (Philippikos).

⁴¹ Preger, *Scriptores*, 45, 10–15. Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople* (as in note 28 above), 223 believe that the Galen of the passage was a (real) wise man in the time of Zeno.

its false dative constructions, and its anacoluths point at first sight to a humble social milieu as the home of the writers and readers of that curious work. But this first impression is not quite correct. A clue does exist to help define the social space of the *Parastaseis*, even if this clue is hidden not in the text proper, but in a short story inserted into it.⁴² In that story, the narrator's friend Himerios, the unlucky man killed by a statue (we remember that Demosthenes had predicted his tragic end) bears the title of "honorable chartoularios." This takes us into the stratum of imperial bureaucracy; but we must investigate further, for chartoularios is a term denoting officials of diverging social standing. Was Himerios a lower-to-middle-echelon functionary, occupying a subordinate post in the officium of a logothete in the capital or of a strategos in the provinces and holding the rank of a spatharios or a strator? Or was he an eminent dignitary with the rank of a patrikios, in charge of the imperial stables, the state treasury, or the arsenal of the imperial navy?⁴³ The evidence speaks in favor of Himerios' having been a chartoularios of the latter kind, a man who enjoyed access to the emperor himself. The only chartoularios surely attested for the eighth century was Paul, a trusted follower of Leo III whom that emperor promoted to the rank of patrikios and dispatched as his general to quell a rebellion in Sicily.⁴⁴ Consider, furthermore, the narrator's assertion that the friends of the emperor, that is, of Philippikos Bardanes, came to visit the very place of Himerios' demise. These friends would naturally be affected by the death of a man of their own milieu, but would hardly be interested in a subordinate chartoularios' fate.

But what about the narrator? In social terms, he presents himself as standing close to Himerios whom we just defined as a high dignitary. He could afford contradicting Himerios' wrong antiquarian

views. Like Himerios, he arrived at the Kynegion on a mule, and like him had a servant (or servants) to take care of the animal. Afraid of being accused of having murdered Himerios, he obtained asylum in the Great Church, a privilege not open to everyone. What goes for the narrator, goes even more for the "philosopher" John, who apparently was a member of the party that visited the site of Himerios' death, for in spite of his popular nickname of "philosopher," John had access to the emperor.

Thus the story of Himerios, for all its unsophisticated flavor, is not a sample of popular literature, if by this adjective we mean something belonging to the lower layers of society. Mystification or not, and unless the narrator was vastly improving his social standing or pulling our leg, this story reflects the world of the high or middle echelons of the capital's bureaucracy. I therefore guess that the compiler or compilers of the *Parastaseis* as a whole were familiar with the middle—perhaps even upper—level bureaucrats, of whom I imagine "Philokalos," the (pseudonymous?) addressee of the inserted piece about Himerios, to have been one.

The language of the *Parastaseis* does not contradict this assessment. For all its howlers, this language does not reflect the "popular" speech, no matter whether we mean by this the speech of the illiterate, of people lacking formal training, or even the speech consistently falling below the norm of the Byzantine "usual" prose. The fact is that in one case at least the language of the *Parastaseis* rises above the level of that prose. In chapter eighty-five, the compiler of our text explained the name of Ikonion—"Arriveville"—by the fact that Perseus had "arrived" there (ἐκ τοῦ ἦκεν τὸν Περσεῖα ἐκλήθη Ἰκόνιον). He thus assumed that the reader would take ἦκεν to be the usual verb meaning "to arrive."⁴⁵ Now, precisely this verb ἦκεν was considered as worthy of annotation by the glossator of the Mon. gr. 366, a collection of premetaphrastic Lives of the saints (some of them in high style), a manuscript carefully produced about the

⁴²Text in Preger, *Scriptores*, 35–36 = §§ 27 and 28. Cf. also *ibid.*, II, 162–63 = § 24, and *Suda*, ed. A. Adler, III, 213, s.v. κυνήγιον. On the story of Himerios, cf. also C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *DOP* 17 (1963), 60–61; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (as in note 31 above), 32–33 (translation of the passage; according to Dagron, Himerios was a fictitious person) and Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople* (as in note 30 above), ad loc.

⁴³Cf. R. Guiland, "Contribution à l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: Le chartulaire et le grand chartulaire," *RESEE* 9 (1971), 405–26; N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de présence byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), index s.v. χαρτουλάριος (various entries); F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert . . .*, BBA 53 (Berlin, 1985), index, s.v. Chartularios, esp. p. 48.

⁴⁴Theophanes, *Chron.*, 398, 12–399, 4, ed. de Boor.

⁴⁵In a brilliant piece of his youth, Mango, "Antique Statuary" (as in note 42 above), 60 assumed that the *Parastaseis* represented the attitudes of the common man. *Contra*, Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople* (as in note 30 above), 13–15, 32 and note 80 rightly stress the relatively elevated social level of the milieu that produced and read the *Parastaseis* (authors give a sense of belonging to an exclusive club, they were government officials of some literary pretensions) and note that some parts of the work attempt high style. Cameron and Herrin are too optimistic on the latter point, however. Throughout Byzantium's existence, nearly every writer attempted high style, openly or in secret. But the attempt of the author or team of the *Parastaseis* is a particularly miserable failure.

year 900 or somewhat earlier. There, this verb is glossed ten times by such equivalents as ἐλθεῖν, παραγενέσθαι, καταλαβεῖν, or ἔρχεσθαι. Apparently the glossator, who worked for literate monks of a rich monastery in the capital, believed that they would not be comfortable with the verb ἴκειν while reading the Lives in the Monacensis.⁴⁶

If the foregoing observations have any merit, we may guess that the producers and readers of the *Parastaseis* enjoyed comfortable social standing. We are further entitled to guess that the *Parastaseis* reveals an urge to make sense of the past on the part of the lay—and perhaps some clerical—members of the Constantinopolitan literate society some years before 800. These people differed from their contemporaries like Tarasios, Nikephoros, or George Synkellos not so much because of their social status, or because they were mostly laymen while the others were ecclesiastics (patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros had begun their careers as lay bureaucrats), as because they did not have the same formal literary training and culture as Nikephoros and his equals had. I would like to believe that the impulse to deal with the past came from the better educated to the less educated members of the elite, and that the *Parastaseis* implies the existence of people like Nikephoros and Synkellos.

VI

Historical writing around the year 800 shares some traits with the work of other periods: thus, literary production existed on various levels of style that roughly reflected the respective levels of culture (but not always of social standing) of the authors; the period produced conventional works—what modern theoreticians of scientific change call “normal” science. The chronicles of Nikephoros and “Theophanes” and perhaps occasional historical writings, such as the lost story of the Sicilian uprising by Theognostos—presumably written in high style—or less sophisticated reports with a polemical tinge, such as the *Scriptor Incertus*,

are relevant examples. Along with these “normal” products, however, our period saw the appearance of two less usual works—the technical scholarly effort by Synkellos, and the *Parastaseis*. The first was undertaken on a scale unparalleled in Byzantium proper either before or after 800—an esoteric effort, to be sure, but one that may have been reflected in parts of one or two early short chronicles. The second, the *Parastaseis*, was an attempt by some author or authors to decipher the silent or cryptic message of the city’s monuments among which they passed every day. These people were not very literate, but stood, ironically enough, relatively high on the social scale and were within earshot of people of high culture, or at least of high power.

Synkellos, Nikephoros, and the author of the *Parastaseis* make an unlikely trio when it comes to culture, but each of them in his own way points to a time of an interest for the past—difficult as this past may have been to reconstruct—and of an intellectual activity which was growing in intensity as time went on. Before professional philologists and *littérateurs* came to the fore, we find that all kinds of people took part in this activity—among them educated and less educated ecclesiastics, a bureaucrat or two, and a grammarian, but all of them were doubling as historians. Thus the search for the past stands at the beginnings of the first Byzantine humanism.⁴⁷

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⁴⁶Preger, *Scriptores*, 72, 8–9; cf. also *ibidem*, 72, 4–5 (ἐκλήθη οὖν Ἰκόνιον . . . διὰ τὸ ἡγεῖναι τὸν Πελοῦσα. Forms of ἡγω occur ten times in the *Parastaseis* (true, nine of these occurrences are crowded into three pages [70–73] of Preger’s Teubner text). Malalas, *Chron.*, 36, 18–20, Bonn ed. (and texts related to him) give a different etymology of Ikonion (from εἰκόνα). For the glosses, cf. Monac. gr. 366, fols. 8rb, 9ra, 48rb (twice), 52ra, 95ra, 146va, 219rb, 229vb, 239ra.

⁴⁷In the past few years, Mango and Speck have published a number of historiographical studies that deal with the topic of the present essay and discuss in detail some sources mentioned in it. Some of these studies are crisp and illuminating, some controversial. The reader of the present offering will profit from consulting all of them. Cf. (a) Cyril Mango, “The *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nikephoros,” in *Byzance: Hommage à A. N. Stratos*, II (Athens, 1986), 539–52; “The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12–13 (1988–89), 360–72; and *Nikephoros* (as in note 3 above); (b) Paul Speck, “Weitere Überlegungen und Untersuchungen über die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance,” *Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά* 6, Varia II (1987), esp. 255–75; “Das geteilte Dossier,” esp. “Das geteilte Dossier oder Möglichkeiten und Tendenzen byzantinischer Historiographie vor 800,” *Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά* 9 (1988), 499–519 (of interest for Synkellos and for the paucity of sources for recent Byzantine history available in Constantinople ca. 800). Treadgold’s *The Byzantine Revival* (as in note 3 above) is valuable, but its author is interested more in the revival of state and society than of culture; see, however, 51–58; 373–80 (on culture); 387–90 (on sources).